THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF CHINA BY THE TARTARS.

Together with an Account of
Several remarkable things, concerning the RELIGION, Manners, and Customes of both Nations, but especially of the latter.

First writ in *Spanish*, by *Señor Palafox* Bishop of *Osma*, and Vice-Roy of *Mexico*.

And now rendred *English*.

LONDON,
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An Advertiſement to the Reader, wherein is an Account of the Author, *and likewiſe ſome Obſervations added for the better Illuſtration of the Hiſtory.*

THis Relation of the *Conqueſt* of *China*, was firſt writ in *Spaniſh* by *Señor Palafox*, Biſhop of *Oſma* in *Spain*, and in the year 1639 Conſecrated Biſhop of *Puebla de los Santos*, or *Tlaxcala* in *Mexico*, and by *Philip* the Fourth conſtituted Vice-Roy of *Nova Hiſpania*; where from time to time, he received information from the *Philippine Iſles*, of all the eminent Tranſactions which happened in the Revolution of the *Chineſe* Empire to the *Tartars*. Out of which Memorials (he ſaith himſelf) he compiled this Hiſtory, which after his Deceaſe was found in Manuſcript amongſt his Papers, and by his Kinſman

Don Bernardo de Palafox given at *Madrid* to a *French* Gentleman, *Mr. Bertier*; who having ſeen with what applauſe the Tranſlation into *French* of ſeveral pieces compoſed by the ſame Author had been received, at his return to *Paris*, engaged *Monſieur Colle* to publiſh it in *French*, which he did the laſt year. This *French* Tranſlation I received from a friend, whoſe Authority prevailed with me, to copy after a Copy, being aſſured, that in probability, the *Spaniſh* original would not be divulged.

This is all the account I have received of the Author, whoſe Encomium I neither deſign to write, nor to paſs any cenſure upon his Hiſtory, or make any further Apology for this preſent Tranſlation. But ſhall commit both the Author and his Tranſlators to the favourable judgment of the Candid Reader: Only I ſhall take liberty to make ſome obſervations upon ſome few paſſages, after I have firſt made this acknowledgment, *That whereas, when I ſpoke of* Cha, *mentioned in this following Hiſtory, I was al-*

moſt

most perswaded by a skilful Botanist, that Cha *and* Tè *were two distinct Plants, nevertheless I seemed to scruple whether they were or no. I am now fully confirmed by* Kircher *and other Authors, that* Cha *or* Cia, Theà, Thé *or* Tè *are but Synonima of the same Plant; which* Martinius, *and others, who describe it, say, is a species of* Rhus, *or* Sumach. *But* Simon Paulus, *the great* Anti-Théist, *must excuse me, if I cannot credit him when he would perswade us, that* Elæagnus Cordi, *or* Rhus Myrtifolia Belgica, *which in* English *is called* sweet Gaule, *is the same Plant with* Tè: *For the infusion of their Leaves (whatsoever outward resemblance they may have) sufficiently manifests a difference between them; Experience telling us that it works just opposite effects; that of the first raising in the Stomach most pernicious vapours, which intoxicate and cause the Head-ach; that of the latter allaying all fumes, and thereby remedying the distempers they occasion.*

And now I must observe, that our Author the mention he makes of the

several Provinces of *China*, omits *Chikiang*, which borders South and Southwest upon *Fokien*, which is likewise called *Chincheo*, and perhaps by him supposed to be the same with *Chikiang*. The truth is, all Authors agree, that *China* is divided but into 15 Provinces, yet they enumerate 16. But some say that *Queichu* was not till of late years, reckoned as a distinct Province of it self: and others, that *Leaotun* is not a Province of *China*, but only a Territory tributary to it. I shall not undertake to reconcile these disputes, but give you a list of all the 16 Provinces, with the various appellations, I find them mentioned in the most approved Writers of *China*, according to that order which our Author places those he takes notice of. 1. *Pequin* or *Peking*. 2. *Xantan*, *Xantum* or *Xantung*. 3. *Leaotun*, *Leaotung* or *Leautum*. 4. *Honam*, *Honan* or *Honnam*. 5. *Xanfi* or *Xanfi*. 6. *Xenfi*. 7. *Nanquin*, *Nanking* or *Nankim*. 8. *Schiamfi*, *Kianfi* or *Kiangfi*. 9. *Fuquam*, *Huquam*, *Huquan* or *Huquang*. 10. *Honan*, *Junan*,

Junnan

Junnan or *Yunnam*. 11. *Suchuen*, *Suchuem* or *Suchuo*. 12. *Cancheu* or *Queicheu*. 13. *Chikiang* or *Chekiam*, omitted in this Hiſtory. 14. *Foquien*, *Fokien*, *Fukien*, *Foking* or *Chinchee*. 15. *Canton* or *Quantung*. 16. *Quanſi* or *Quangſi*. Thoſe Names which are mentioned in this Hiſtory, I place firſt, but I muſt declare, that many times I never find them ſo called in any other.

Though our Author, in general terms, attributes the inſurrection and rebellion in *China*, which gave the *Tartar* opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of the whole Empire, ſolely to the treacherous management of affairs by the *Eunuchs*, who had engroſſed to themſelves the Emperours favour: Yet *Arnoldus Montanus*, the lateſt Writer of *China*, is more particular herein, and therefore I ſhall acquaint you what he ſaith. The Rebellion was begun 1644. by the Mountaneers in the Province *Suchuen*. and was ſeconded by the Inhabitants of *Queichu*, who in revenge of an unjuſt Sentence pronounced in a difference between two perſons of

considerable quality, rose up in arms, and joyning with the injured person, in the first assault cut the Judges, who pronounced the Sentence, in pieces, and routed the Vice-Roy's Army, which was sent against them, but soon after they were defeated, but not totally quelled, by a new Army. In the interim a great Famine happened in the Northern Provinces, occasioned by an unheard of number of Locusts. And now a new Rebellion is raised in *Xensi* and *Xantung*, which took its rise from the discontents of the people, the Emperour *Xunchin* out of Covetousness imposing then as high Taxes upon his Subjects, as he did formerly in fruitful flourishing times: the mony all mispent, and the Souldiers not paid. Whereupon the number of the Mutineers daily encreased, and being by Plunder and Rapine enriched, they now plot against the whole Empire, and choose the most valiant and experienced amongst them for Generals. Who growing jealous one of the other, they fall into parties amongst them-

themſelves, and then into open War; where, in ſeveral battels, all the Generals were ſlain, but two, *viz. Lieungz* and *Changien*, by our Author called only *Ly* and *Cham*: who adds, that he could never learn what became of *Cham*; but other Hiſtorians ſay, he was cut off by a party ſent againſt him by *Ly*. *Semedo* likewiſe in his Hiſtory intimates, that the incurſions which the neighbouring *Tartars* formerly made upon *China*, of which our Author takes notice, were occaſioned by the Covetouſneſs of the *Chineſes*, who by extortion oppreſſed them. And thereupon he thus gloſſes, pag. 101. of the Edition of his Hiſtory in *Engliſh*; Rebellion *is the uſual effect of* Extortion *and* Tyranny, *and where the Prince would have more from the people than they are able to give. Whence* (ſaith he) Theopompus *King of the* Lacedemonians, *when his Wife told him, that becauſe he had eaſed the people of many taxes, he would leave his Son a poorer Kingdom, than he had received from his Father, anſwer'd*; Relinquo ſed diuturnius; *that*

that is, I shall leave him a more lasting Kingdom. Happy had it been for *Xunchin* the Emperour of *China*, had he been of *Theopompus* his mind. But I must confess, though I find him, by many Authors, branded for his Covetousness, yet I am not very apt to suspect him so guilty of that vice, as of another usually more fatal to *Princes*; which is a facile Nature, easie to be wrought upon by others, and too inclinable to favour and indulge themselves, and not willing to undergo the weight of affaires. From whence it was, that though during the Reign of his Brother *Thienking*, who preceded him in the Imperial Throne, he so opposed his Darling favourite, the Eunuch *Guei*, and all the *Eunuchs* his Partisans, that at last, he prevailed with his Brother to banish them all his Court, to the great joy and satisfaction of the whole Empire. And when, his Brother dying without Issue, the Imperial Crown fell to him, at his first taking possession thereof, he so persecuted the *Eunuchs*, who by abuse of their

their Authority under his Brother, had made themſelves abhorr'd by the whole Nation, that *Guei* in deſpair poiſoned himſelf. Yet at laſt this very Emperour ſuffered himſelf, by the crafty inſinuation of ſome perſons about him, contrary to his own judgment, to be prevailed with to recall theſe inſolent Extortioners, and moſt imprudently made his incenſed enemies his reconciled Confidents; And intruſts them with the ſole management of all affairs, who now conceal their malice againſt him, but forgot not to ſtudy revenge; and being backed with his authority, by their extortion they grind the face of the people, thereby enrich themſelves, render their Maſter odious to his Subjects, endeavour by all arts to defraud him, keep back the Souldiers pay and proviſions, thereby to occaſion Mutinies, hold correſpondence with the Rebells, not acquaint him with the danger that threatned both him and his Empire, and at laſt admit the whole Army of the Traitors into the very Walls of the City *Peking*; the ſad conſequen-

ces

ces of which, the following History very particularly relates.

Now that I have, out of other Authors, more fully than *Señór Palafox* doth, acquainted you with the occasion of those Insurrections, which brought that fatal destruction upon *Xunchin* the Emperour of *China*, and so highly contributed to the advancement of the prosperity of *Xunchi* Emperour of the *Tartars*, as he was supposed to be by our Authour, and most others; I must out of *Montanus* let you know, that he was not the *Cham*, or Emperour of the *Tartars*, but only a petty Prince amongst them, whose Grandfather was the first of his Family, who was advanced to that dignity by the consent of the inhabitants of his Country, which was only a small Province in *Tartary*, called *Muncheu*.

I shall now end these observations, with a brief Narrative of the famous Acts of *Coxinga*, Son to *Ikoan*, or *Iquon*, as he was called by our Author, and all Forrainers; but amongst his own Country-men *Chanchilung*, or *Chincilung*,

cilung, so renowned by his former name in this present History. This *Coxinga* was that Son of *Ikoan*, who was sent by his Father, as *Señor Palafox* intimates to *Jacatra*, to be instructed by the *Hollanders* in the exercise of Arms, according to the practise of *Europe*, where he so improved himself in the knowledge of their Military discipline, that in the year 1661. assisted by those out-lawed *Chineses*, who had served under his Father, he took from them the Islands of *Formosa* and *Tayowan*; for the recovery of which, the *Hollanders* have from their several Plantations in the *East Indies*, put out several considerable Fleets, that they might by force of Arms regain those Isles; but finding themselves too weak to accomplish their designs, they sent divers Embassies to sollicite the assistance of the *Tartars*, but in vain. *Coxinga* keeping possession during his life, and since his decease they are delivered up to the *Tartars*. These Embassies are at large treated of by *Arnoldus Montanus*, lately Englished by Mr. *Ogilby*; from whom

whom I have borrowed moſt of theſe obſervations.

Many other obſervable remarks might be added, but fearing leſt I have already tranſcended the due bounds of an Introduction, I ſhall ſay no more.

THE

THE CONTENTS OF THIS HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

THe Beginning of the Troubles of China. *Two Subjects of the Emperours Rebell. They make themselves masters of six Provinces, and of the Imperial Court. The Resolutions of the* Tartars *thereupon.* *pag.* 1

CHAP. II.

The Death of the Emperour Zunchin, *and of all the Royal Family. The* Tartar *resolves to oppose the Usurper, and to advance his ancient pretensions to the Empire of* China. *pag.* 24.

CHAP. III.

The Tartars *enter into* China. *The Tyrant*

Tyrant Ly *flies. The young* Xunchi *makes his entrance into* Pequin, *and is there crowned Emperour. He declares War againſt the King of* Corea, *and makes his Kingdom tributary.* p.59

CHAP. IV.

The Tartar *purſues his Conqueſt: He reduces five other Provinces bordering upon* Pequin. *His Conduct, that thereby he might illuſtrate his Victories, and the Orders he preſcribed to the conquered.* p.77

CHAP. V.

One of the Uncles of Xunchi *reduces the City and Province of* Nanchin. *The Flight and Death of a King of* China, *who had been publickly crowned. Six of the nine Southern Provinces ſubmit themſelves to the* Tartar. p. 93.

CHAP. VI.

The Tartars *find the greateſt reſiſtance in the Conqueſt of the 3 laſt Provinces. A* Chineſe *Pirate makes himſelf very potent: who this Pyrate was.* p.107

CHAP. VII.

The Pyrate Icoan *made a Treaty with the* Hollanders. *His Quarrel with the* Portegueſes

Portegueſes *of* Macao, *for refuſing to reſtore him his Daughter, which he had cauſed to be educated in the Chriſtian Religion. The* Tartar *ſollicits him to joyn with him. His Fidelity to the Princes of* China. *p.* 137

CHAP. VIII.

Icoan *demands ſuccour from the Emperour of* Japan, *who refuſes it him. He maintains a War againſt the* Tartars *a whole year. He is taken priſoner, and preſented to the Emperour* Xunchi. *What was the end of this* Corſair. *p.*159

CHAP. IX.

The Tartars *paſs into the Province of* Canton, *where a* Chineſe *Prince is crowned Emperour of* China. *They enter the City of* Canton, *finding the Gates open. A* Chineſe *Fleet, which came with relief fires the City. The Proclamation which the* Tartarian *Vice-Roy cauſes to be publiſhed in* Canton. *p.*180

CHAP. X.

The Tartars *ſack the City of* Canton. *The Vice-Roys change the Government. The Death of the King of* Canton *and all his followers. The Reduction of ſeveral*

places in the Province. p. 200

CHAP. XI.

At Xaochin *the* Chineſe *ſtand upon their Defence :* Guequan *King of* Quanſi *comes into that City. He goes and meets the* Tartars, *he fights and routs them. A Diviſion among the* Chineſes. *They are defeated in another fight, and their City* Xaochin *taken.* p. 218

CHAP. XII.

Diſturbances in the Maritine *Provinces. Some* Chineſe *Princes retire themſelves into the Mountains. Others by treaty make their peace with the* Tartars. *One who had concealed himſelf amongſt the* Bonzi, *diſcovers himſelf to the Viceroy, and is carried into* Tartary. p. 241

CHAP. XIII.

The ſtate and condition of the Porteguеſes *of* Macao. *They had continued Neuters between the* Chineſes *and the* Tartars. *Their fear leſt the Victors ſhould make ſome attempt upon their City. They are better treated than they expected.* p. 252

CHAP. XIV.

The Tartars *put out to Sea, and fight the*

the Corsairs *of* China. *A treaty of peace is proposed, but broke by the perfidiousness of the Vice-Roy. He is discovered to be a* Chinese. *The natural Genius of that Nation.* p.269

CHAP. XV.

The Vice-Roy burns the Vessels of the Corsairs; *they return in greater numbers, pillage and ravage the Country, and compel the* Chinese *to quit the* Tartarian *habit which they had taken. They assault the City of* Canton, *and are repulsed by the Vice-Roy in Civil affairs.* p. 284

CHAP. XVI.

The Testimony which certain Christian Negroes *gave of their Religion in the presence of the* Tartars. *After which God Almighty miraculously preserves them in a fight. The* Corsairs *continue to spoil the Country. The Vice-Roy in Military affairs drives them out of a place in which they had fortified themselves, and stood upon their Defence. He ruins the Town, and all the adjacent Country.* p.300

CHAP. XVII.

The Corsairs *trouble and perplex the General. They possess themselves of the*

City Tunquam, *and maintain it against ſeveral aſſaults. They deliver it up upon compoſition. The Cruelty of the Generals Souldiers.* p. 314

CHAP. XVIII.

A Diſcourſe of the Vice-Roy in Civil affairs, upon the Cruelty of his Colleague. The Corſairs *ſtill perplex the* Tartars. The Chineſes *improve themſelves in the Art of War. The Northern* Chineſes *are of a different Genius from the Southern.* p. 334

CHAP. XIX.

The Corſairs *take a little Fort near* Canton, *having engaged part of the Garriſon to ſide with them. The Vice-Roy in Military affairs diſcovers a new plot in another Fort. The manner how he puniſhed the Traytors.* p. 351

CHAP. XX.

An Allarm in Canton *at the approach of the* Corſairs. *The Conſternation of the Inhabitants. The General arrives, and routs the Beſiegers. The Inquiſition after the Conſpirators, and their puniſhment. The reſolution of a* Chineſe *Captain, his death and praiſe.* p. 363

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

The Corsairs *possess themselves of several places, and return to assault* Canton. *The General routs them at Sea. The* Chineses *manage their affairs ill, and thereby only exasperate the* Tartars, *and consume the rest of their Forces.* p. 381

CHAP. XXII.

An eminent Prediction of a Chinese *Astrologer, that that State should be conquered by a Stranger; which had blew Eyes. The Precautions which the Chineses observed to divert the effects of that prediction.* p. 392

CHAP. XXIII.

The Chineses *who traded with the neighbouring States are ill used as soon as the loss of their Empire was known. The ill reception which the petty King of* Cochin Chine *gave to those who came into his territories, to secure themselves.* p. 397

CHAP. XXIV.

The Emperour of Japan *uses the* Chineses *very hardly. The jealousie that Prince hath of Strangers. How powerful an obstacle this distrust is to the conversion of*

of those people. He refuses to receive an Embassie from the Portegueses *of* Macao. *That though the* Japanners *are very powerful, yet thay have reason to fear the* Tartars.. *p.* 411

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Religion of the Tartars. *Their Natural Virtues and Vices. p.*439

CHAP. XXVI.

The Government of the Tartars *in* China. *The excellent Endowments of the young* Xunchi. *The Reformation which he made of the* Mandorins *and* Eunuchs *in the Court. The virtuous freedom of the* Tartarian *Women. p.* 451

CHAP. XXVII.

How satisfied the Chineses *were with the* Tartarian *Government. The Pride and Avarice of the* Chinese *Mandorins. The speedy and exact Execution of Justice by the* Tartars. *p.* 470

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Tartars *compel the* Chineses *to leave their Books, and take up Arms. Of the* Tartarian *Letters and Language. The Sciences for which they have the greatest inclination. p.* 500

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

How much addicted the Tartars *are to War. Their Arms offensive and defensive. Their greatest force consists in their Horse. The excellency of their Horses.* p. 518

CHAP. XXX.

The Military Discipline of the Tartars: *Their manner of fighting, and how they lay siege to any place. The aversion they have to dwell in Towns. The security with which they sleep in their Camp, without placing any Guards or Sentinels.* p. 530

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Behaviour of the Tartars. *Of their Natural inclination to War and Labour. Of their frank and free dealing, without any ceremony. Of their Divertisements, Occupations, and Employments in general.* p. 546

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Habit and Fashions of the Tartars. *Of the Modesty and Virtue of their Women, who though they affect to ride on horse-back, and go to the Wars, yet are very chast and virtuous. The Conclusion of this Narrative of the Conquest of* China *by the* Tartars. p. 565

The CONQUEST *of the* Empire *of* CHINA *by the* TARTARS.

CHAP. I.

The Beginning of the Troubles of China. *Two Subjects of the Emperour's rebell. They make themselves Masters of six Provinces, and of the Imperial Court. The Resolutions of the* Tartars *thereupon.*

THE Inhabitants of *China* enjoyed all the pleasures of Peace, under the Government of their last Emperour, who was called *Junchin*, a deceitful and unfortunate Name. He was the most absolute Monarch

narch that ever ruled those vast Territories; when in the Year 1640. a year Fatal to several States, those Clouds began to gather, which shortly after produced such a Storm, as ruined the whole Empire.

I said, the name of *Zunchin*, after which the Emperour of *China* was called, was a deceitful Name; for *Zunchin* in the *Chinese* Language signifies *Successful Omen*, or *Soveraign Dominion*; but how false a Prognostick this was, it quickly appeared. The Emperour was of a most courteous and good disposition; and certainly his Subjects who enjoyed great plenty, and all the Advantages of Peace, lived truly happy under so excellent a Prince. But it is not sufficient for a Prince to be good, and to govern mildly and peaceably, unless he likewise takes care, not to have ill Officers, who make use of their Credit under Him, to gratifie their private Passions, and to extend their Ambition beyond all Limits.

It was in the year 1640. when two Rebels at the same time, revolted a-

gainst

gainſt their Lawful Soveraign; one of them was called *Ly*, the other *Cham*: And though they were but private Subjects of the Emperour of *China*, and perſons of no conſideration, either by their Quality or Birth, yet they both equally aſpired to the Supreme Dominion. And having drawn to them great Numbers of the choiceſt Souldiers in the Empire, they began to make Incurſions upon the Northern Provinces, which border upon *Tartary*.

The Emperour, in the mean time, did not take ſufficient care to ſtifle this Revolt. In all likelihood the Complaints and Informations of thoſe Commanders, who guarded the Frontiers, never entred the Court ſo far, as to reach the Emperour's Ears. The Miniſters of State, and Officers of the Court ſtopped the Paſſage, having already ſold the Empire, and their Maſter, by abuſing his mild Diſpoſition. The Saying of *Diocletian* is but too true; "That although a Prince be "Good, Prudent, Obſervant, Careful, "and Vigilant, yet he cannot prevent

" Treachery, if those who are in Em-
" ployment under Him, and who ought
" to serve and advise Him faithfully,
" do contrariwise combine together to
" surprize Him, and to make ill use of
" His Authority. Either the Ability
" and Fidelity of the Counsellors to a
" Prince, must strike a terrour into Re-
" bels, or these Rebels will in a short
" time make themselves a terrour both
" to the Prince and His Counsellors.

The two Chiefs of this Rebellion took such advantage by this pernicious Negligence, that those Counsels, which if at first executed, would with great facility have put a period to these troubles, became now both unfit and impossible to be put in execution. In a short time they gained themselves the Renown of Great and most Valiant Commanders, and by the advantage of this Repute, they quickly had Forces enough, not only to defend themselves, but to enlarge their Conquests; and having fit opportunity to enhaunce the Fame of their Victories, their Confederates encreased every day more

and

and more. The Applauſe which is given to Victors, never fails to acquire them new Aſſociates. And thus theſe Uſurpers did in a very little time by force of Arms, make themſelves Maſters of five Provinces.

The Rebel *Cham* went to eſtabliſh himſelf in that Province, which of the five, was the moſt remote from the Emperour's Court, and took upon him the Title of King, with full reſolution to extend his Conqueſts, and to bring under his Subjection the neighbouring Provinces as ſoon as he had raiſed Forces enough, to enable him to put in execution his great Projects.

The other Rebel, who was called *Ly*, having, as it appeared, framed to himſelf greater Deſignes, approached nearer the Court, and had already in his Imagination conquered the whole Empire: But judging, from the advantage he had received from *Cham*'s Confederacy with him at the beginning, how great an obſtacle ſo powerful a Competitor might be to him in proceſs of time, he did in all likelihood

make him away, either by secret Treachery, or open Violence; for in all the Relations there was never any more mention made of the Tyrant *Cham*.

I judge it here very necessary, to advertise my Reader with the necessity which was imposed upon me, in relating several Passages, to make use of these Terms, *in all likelihood*, *in all appearance*, *most probably*, &c. for the Instructions out of which this Narrative was compiled, came to me in Letters and loose Memorials, which were sent out of *China* during the Troubles; and doubtless the great Confusions, in which the whole State was then involved, was the occasion that the Informations came so brief and disordered, not remarking the times, and often not sufficiently distinguishing the Names of Persons, and their Qualities. And being necessitated several times to review and examine over the Memorials one after another, I observed that what was related in some of them, was only a continuation and explanation of what was said of others. And therefore for my

Readers

Readers better ſatisfaction, I have digeſted them into this Method, which perhaps, notwithſtanding the diligence and Aſſiduity I have employed herein, may not ſeem ſo compleat and exact, as might be wiſhed for.

Ly, who had now no Competitor, who could aſpire to the Soveraignty, began to noiſe abroad his vaſt Projects, and ſetled himſelf in the Capital City of the Province *Xenſi*, called *Singanfuaſe*. He cauſed himſelf to be crowned, and took upon him the Title of Emperour of *China*, kept an Imperial Court, and acted like a Soveraign Prince. He threatned to purſue in a ſhort time his Reſolutions of ſubduing the Province of *Pequin*, and to make himſelf Maſter of the Emperour's Court, and to joyn *Pequin*, which is the principal of the ſix Northern Provinces, to the five others, which were already in ſubjection to him.

It is not certainly known what was the firſt riſe of theſe two Uſurpers, only it is famed, that they were both Generals in the Emperour of *China*'s

Armies, who perceiving themselves, and Souldiers to be neither regarded, nor recompensed for their Services, but to be ill used by the Ministers of State, they revolted against their King, and conspired together to be their own Pay-Masters; resolving to make the Grandees of the Court understand, that those who serve their Prince in his Armies, are without comparison better capacitated to serve or disserve the State, than those whose sole Employment it is by their Court-Artifices to ingratiate themselves with their Prince.

They began at first with Complaints, and from Complaints they came to Arms, and having once began their Treachery, they thought themselves engaged most vigrously to prosecute it.

Without all doubt, they who gave the first occasion to this Rebellion, were highly Criminal; but this does not render those more excusable or less culpable, who not only began it, but continued it so outragiously, as to make an attempt not only against the State, but against the life of their Soveraign.

veraign. No Misdemeanour of a Prince, let the Disorders and Irregularities of his Government be never so publick or manifest, can license the Rebellion of his Subjects; much less can any Subject revenge or right himself on his Soveraign. If he be injured, let him make his complaint to his Prince, and by Petitions and Supplications seek for redress; if he receive no relief, let him renew his Supplications till his Prince be acquainted with his griefs; and if after all his importunities, he can prevail nothing, let him cease to complain, or rather let him resign up his Complaints to the King of Heaven, who is the only Judge of the Kings upon Earth; else if Subjects may upon any pretence whatsoever rebel against their Prince, and right themselves of their Soveraign, farewel to Monarchy.

Whilst the Flame of Rebellion and Civil War, which every day blazed out more and more, threatned the whole Empire of *China* with a general Ruine and Revolution, the *Tartar* did most

most attentively and vigilantly watch to see, if according to his wishes, there would happen some overture of an honourable Pretext for him to enter into some or all the Provinces. Although it be true that within the 24 years which preceded the Revolution of *China, viz.* from 1618. to 1642. the *Tartars* had sometimes passed the Wall, and made Incursions upon the Frontiers, yet it was only to requite the *Chinese* for the Irruptions which they had made into *Tartary*. The Inhabitants of *Asia* do, whensoever they judge themselves injured, right themselves by revenge; for if an injury be done, either from a particular person to a particular person, or from one State to another, Revenge is their only satisfaction: It being the general practise of all *Asia* for any injured person to retaliate upon his Adversary; and I wish to God, that only these people sought to right themselves by revenge and violence.

It was this mischievous custome, which induced the bordering *Tartars* heretofore to make so frequent Incursions

sions upon their Neighbours the *Chineses*: But then they had not so much as the thought to subdue the Empire, and less had they the force wherewithall to do it. And at this time the Emperour of *China* and the *Cham* of *Tartary* were at peace: And though it is true that the Peace and amity which was formerly sworn between both States, and the renuntiation which the *Tartar* had made of all his pretensions to *China*, could not prevent the frequent Inrodes which they mutually made upon each other, yet to make open war upon *China*, neither seemed just nor honourable to the *Tartars* themselves; and therefore in their justification they alledged such specious Reasons and Pretences, that they may serve for Instructions to many Politicians of *Europe*.

The *Tartar* therefore did only watch and observe what passed in *China*, and kept himself in a readiness to take advantage of all occasions which might be beneficial to him; but he resolved to embrace none, but what might seem

honourable,

honourable, and whereby he might with Glory and Renown do some eminent exploit in some or other of the Provinces of *China*, and not thereby draw upon him the odious Title of Usurper. And in the mean time he contented himself with the knowledge, that to what side soever Fortune should be favourable, she must advantage his Interests and should the Sword decide the Justice of the Cause, that would most expeditiously promote his Pretensions. It must be acknowledged that these *Barbarians* had more difficulty to resolve upon what seemed to them unjust, than many of our Polititians have; for to establish his Right by violence, seemed to the *Tartar* to be not the action of a King, but a Tyrant. He had in readiness a numerous and potent Army, both for Horse and Foot: And though he had not as yet any Artillery, yet in a short time after he was povided of great store, and very good, though he did not engrave upon them *Ratio ultima Regum*.

He considered likewise that *Ly* court-

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ed him, in expectation by his Favour to be protected against his Lawful Soveraign, and that upon this account; or at least not to have him for an Enemy, he would not be unwilling to make him a sharer in his Conquests. But this Prince had solemnly sworn peace with the Royal Family of *China*, and had relinquish'd all his Rights and Pretensions upon that Empire, to that Family, the Head of which was now seated in the Imperial Throne; and therefore he could not resolve with himself, as great an Idolater as he was, to violate that Oath which he had taken in the presence of his Idols: A great Example to those who boast of the true Religion, and yet swear and promise, without regarding the performance of either their Oaths or Promises.

Finally, the *Tartar* judged very truly, that if he joyned his Forces with any one of the two Parties, he should in a short time make himself Umpire and Master of one or both. The Troops of the Emperour of *China*, and those of the Usurper were quartered along

a great part of the Wall through which he must open his passage, and yet he resolves not to advance: He saw that the lawful Prince asked no succour from him, and to declare himself in favour of the Rebel he abominated, being fully perswaded, that to support a Rebel against his lawful Soveraign, was an action unworthy of a Prince, and that it could not but redound to the dishonour of those, who follow the pernicious Example of protecting Rebells. This Prince, though he could not boast at his Coronation to have been anointed with *Oyl sent from Heaven*, yet he knew full well that he should sin both against Heaven and Earth, should he declare himself in favour of the Usurper. It must be granted, that an Infidel and an Idolater, as all these people are, might have been less moved with these considerations of Honour and Justice; especially, when his protection of those of a contrary Religion to that which he himself professed, was not now under debate.

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These Deliberations kept the *Tartars* on the Frontiers; but all this time he kept his Army under strict Discipline, both because he saw his Neighbours Armed and engaged in a War, as likewise judging, that he should have some seasonable and favourable opportunity of passing into *China* without falsifying his Faith and Oath, which he desired to keep inviolable.

Ly, in the mean time, was not content to be absolute Master of five Provinces, but now, having no obstruction from his Competitor *Cham*, he made himself sure of the whole Empire; and resolved speedily to take possession of it. But it could not be so soon done, as wish'd for. Envy and Jealousie of one side, and the natural Love which the *Chineses* have for their Prince on the other, had already rendred the Tyrant odious to the whole Nation. These people have so tender and passionate a Love for their Soveraigns, that they seem rather to idolize, than to love them. And it is reported of this last

last Prince that he did both rightly merit, and possess the Affections of his Subjects, being beloved of them, both as their Father & King; and this made the Tyrant every day more and more abominated: But the Envy which the Fame of his high Advancement drew upon him, did likewise encrease the publick indignation against him. There are none in *China*, but the Princes of the Royal Family who are born great & potent, & therefore it is not persons of Worth and Honour, but the Rascality, and those who have advanced themselves by the oppression of others, who enjoy great Honours and Revenues. And being there are no Lands or Possessions there hereditary, there are few or none in the whole Empire, but are often dispossessed of their Fathers Estate. And from hence it was, that so many persons, who from their abject condition beheld the lofty Grandeur of *Ly*, could not but be enraged, to see in this Tyrant a most despicable Vileness joined with so prodigious an Advancement, as approached to the Sove-

Soveraignty it ſelf. It is very difficult for men to refrain from indignation & envy, when they ſee a mixture of theſe two Extremes in the ſame perſon:

The Tyrant for his own ſecurity, took care to pay his Souldiers, and to omit nothing which tended to their ſatisfaction; but fearing leſt they might not always continue ſo true to him, and leſt they ſhould be moved with reſpect to their Prince, before they were brought to deſpair of his Grace and Pardon; he reſolved with all poſſible ſpeed, to compleat the entire Invaſion of the whole Empire; but firſt he thought it fit to acquaint his moſt reſolute Commanders and his greateſt Confidents with his Reſolutions; which he did in theſe Terms;

Friends, ſaid he, *the Lot is caſt; we muſt now either gain all, or loſe all; we cannot hereafter be greater Rebels than we are already, therefore let us diſpatch with all expedition the Conqueſt of the other ten Provinces of* China, *now that we have made five Provinces feel the pow-*

er of our Swords, but most assuredly, when we shall have subdued the rest, none will be so audacious and rash as to dare to call us Rebels or Usurpers. Rebels if victorious, cease to be Rebels, and become the right and lawful Lords and Masters. What therefore now remains? but that I either make my self the Soveraign Monarch of all China, *or lose my Life in these Fields, and there become a prey to the Birds of the Air, and Beasts of the Field. There is nothing in all this spatious Empire can gratifie me but either a Throne or a Grave, and I will advance my self to such a pitch of Grandeur, that if I fall, it shall be with such a Crack, as shall shiver the whole Frame of Government, and bury the whole Empire under my Ruines.*

Thus *Ly* spake to his Followers, who were entirely devoted to him, and resolving to run the same Fortune with him, they desired nothing so much as to follow him in whatsoever great attempts he should please to embrace; finding his Souldiers thus resolute, he speedily

ſpeedily entred upon a moſt bold and hazardous Deſign, but of high importance for the ſpeedy accompliſhment of his Pretenſions: This was to go directly againſt the very perſon of the Emperour, and with all his Forces to aſſault the Imperial Court, and Capital City of the Empire; fully determining to ſtrike off the Emperours Head, and to place the Crown upon his own. By this eminent Exploit, he knew he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the Kings Treaſure, which would highly ſtrengthen his Party; and beſides, cut off all power from any of the Royal Family, to raiſe any Forces, or to head any, who ſhould yet have any ſparks of Loyalty in their Breaſts.

To execute this grand Attempt, he muſt make himſelf Maſter of the great City of *Pequin*, where all the Court reſided. But he could not hope to do this by open force; and therefore reſolved to do it by Stratagem, and ſo to ſurprize the Town, that the Thunderclap ſhould be felt, before the Noiſe was heard.

By this sudden Surprize, he would not leave the Emperour time, to prepare either for his Defence, or Flight. Otherwise it would have been very difficult for *Ly* with all the Force he could have raised, so suddenly to have reduced this great City: For besides the vast extent of *Pequin*, it was very well fortified, and in time of peace, was guarded with 80000 of the Emperours best Souldiers. The Imperial Palace alone is above two Miles in circumference, and defended with two or three Walls, with their Ditches and Bulwarks, which are all distinct the one from another, and which cannot be taken but separately one after the other; the Guard hereof was intrusted to the choicest Militia of the whole Empire.

Ly foresaw all these difficulties, which he judged so great, that he despaired of surmounting them, but by open violence; and therefore resolved rather to make use of secret Intelligence and Correspondency; for without fraud and treachery he could never have

have vanquiſhed all the Obſtacles to this grand Deſign. To this intent, he had already, by Preſents and fair promiſes, bribed ſeveral of the Grandees of the Court and Council, and by theſe means, found it not difficult to engage them in his Intereſts: A ſtrange thing, that when there was not any one perſon of the common people, either in City or Court, who could be drawn into this Treaſon, ſeveral of the Magiſtrates and Officers of the Court made themſelves a deteſtable example, by entering into a Conſpiracy againſt the State, & the perſon of their Prince. The chief of the Conſpirators were the Eunuches of the Imperial Palace, who were then very potent & conſiderable in the Court. The Emperour of *China* preſumed much upon the truſt and fidelity of theſe perſons, thus to entruſt with them the Guard of his perſon, and the Government of his State.

By this we may perceive in what condition thoſe States are, who have no Nobility amongſt them; I mean

no persons, who inheriting the Dignities and Grandeur of their Ancestors, do receive Principles of Loyalty to their Soveraign at the same moment they receive the first Principle of their Life. There are some things which men can never acquire by study, though they apply themselves to it assiduously, but they must descend to us from the Bloud and Virtue of our Progenitors; else these studied Duties, which come not to us by Nature, are but of a short continuance, nor much to be relied on.

The Tyrant, after he had by the assistance of the Officers and Eunuchs of the Court, thus laid his treasonable design, he sent into the Imperial City of *Pequin*, several of his most trusty & valiant Commanders, disguised like Merchants, with Instructions to keep open shop, and to expose to Sale several rich Merchandises. These counterfeit Merchants were never suspected to be great Commanders, and their Apprentices and Servants choice Souldiers. It concerned them though to mind their Trade.

Trade, for upon that depended the purchaſe of the greateſt Empire in the world; and they which put it to Sale, were thoſe which were moſt of all obliged to preſerve and defend it. When the Bargain was thus made, and Earneſt mutually given, thoſe in the City and Court, who kept intelligence with the Tyrant, failed not by ſeveral pretexts to leſſen the Guards, and to weaken the Strength of the place as much as lay in their power. Thus in a little time the Treaſon broke out all of a ſudden, to the great Diſorder and Aſtoniſhment (as may eaſily be imagined) of all the Inhabitants who were not privy to the Conſpiracy. For whilſt they were uncertain what Reſolution to take, they were under the power, and at the mercy of their Enemies. *Ly* preſently appeared, and found the Gates of the Town open, and his men victorious in the Conqueſt of this great City, before he could attaque it. See the Succeſs of this Rebel, who in ſo ſhort a time made himſelf maſter of ſeveral Provinces! This

of *Pequin*, the principal of the whole Empire, was the Sixth now under his Subjection.

Chap. II.

The Death of the Emperour Zunchin, *and of all the Royal Family. The* Tartar *resolves to oppose the Usurper, and to advance his ancient Pretension to the Empire of* China.

THE Emperour *Zunchin* did not perceive the deplorable condition of his State, till it was not in his power to remedy it. He knew full well that the rage of his Enemies would not only take from him by violence, his Empire and Crown, but his Life also. He perceived that the Plot was laid, from that very time, that his Counsellors advised him not to raise Forces, nor send Money nor Recruits to those Commanders who guarded the Fron-

Frontiers. He might then have put a ſtop to the progreſs of the Rebels, or at leaſt have gained ſo much time, as to have been in a readineſs to have fought them, before they had been ſo far advanced. But now, poor Prince, when he ſaw himſelf beſieged in his Palace, he was fully convinced that he had been betrayed, and therefore judged, that there remained nothing for him now to do, but to depart out of this Life, by a Death worthy of his Dignity and Courage. He was reduced to that extremity, wherein the meaneſt of men are to be compaſſionated. His deſperate Condition made him feelingly reflect, how much in him was to be pitied the too facile diſpoſition of Princes, which is uſually attended with ſad Diſaſters both to them and their States.

The City of *Pequin* being of a vaſt extent, before the Traytors could by force enter the Palace, which was very ſpacious, ſome of the moſt Loyal Officers and Souldiers made a vigorous reſiſtance: Theſe few perſons, who did the

the most passionately resent the disaster of their Prince, were such who had received the hardest measure from the Grandees of the Court. This Attempt which they made in opposition of the Tyrant, gave the King opportunity, if he pleased, to dispose of his Life himself, rather than to abandon it to the Fury and Outrage of his trayterous Rebels. This unfortunate Prince looked upon the resistance which some of his Subjects made to the Tyrant, as the more grateful testimony of their Allegiance, since thereby he obtained the liberty to have the disposal of his own Life at his own election; which he considered as his last happiness, and as the remains of the Respect and Loyalty of his Subjects. To what a strange excess do the Disgraces of this life penetrate the Breasts of men, when to kill themselves, is sometimes esteemed of as a Felicity, even to the most potent of Kings and Princes! We shall always see some Imitators or others of the Examples, which Histories record to us of *Cleopatra*, *Mithridates*, and other

ther eminent persons, who have made use of both Steel and poyson, that by dying by their own hands, they may free themselves from dying by the hands of others: A frail and cruel satisfaction, which the pride of man makes him seek out, to be his own Executioner, that thereby, he may die with the greater renown and pomp.

During the time that this resistance put a stop to the entry of the Rebels into the Palace, the Emperour of *China* considered, how speedily to dispose both of his Royal Family and Person, which was in the most Tragical manner that ever Histories related: He had but one only Daughter, very young, which till now had been the Hope and Desire of the Empire. It is true, that a Relation printed in *China*, and published 1640. makes mention in two places, that the Emperour *Zunchin* had a Legitimate Son, and Heir to the Empire, who was a very hopeful young Prince, and already gave proof of his capacity for great Enterprizes; but doubtless he was dead before this dire-

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full Tragedy was acted; for he is not at all mentioned in the last Manuscript-relation, which certainly would not, (had he been then alive) omitted speaking of him, since it gave so ample an account of his Sister, and made her so great a sharer in this calamitous Disaster, that her Throat was cut by her own Father, and that at her own supplication, that she might not see her Honour, and illustrious Rank become a shameful prey to a Tyrant and Traytor, who had nothing great and eminent in him, but his Treason and Rebellion against his Lawful Soveraign.

After this horrid Execution, the Emperour with his hands yet reeking with the bloud of his Daughter, went into the Garden of the Palace, accompanied with his Legitimate Spouse, the Empress. He abandoned six other Wives, who had each of them the Title of Queen, thirty others who were the most Illustrious Ladies of the Empire, and three thousand others of lesser Quality. It is very difficult for the Soul of man, let it be never so great and

and compassionate, when it is oppressed with such a tumult of Griefs at once, to extend its care to each particular Concern. Presently after this, the whole Court ecchoed with the doleful Cries and Expressions of the Sorrow and Rage of those persons who perceived themselves thus deserted: Till now the Trouble and Confusion of the whole Palace had rendred them astonished and mute; but now they could no longer undergo the burden of their Afflictions, but sought by Lamentations and Complaints to ease and relieve themselves. So that now there was a contest amongst them, who should the loudest proclaim their Grief: Some cried, My Lord and my Husband; others, My King and my Master; and some, My Father: Every one accenting their sorrow in a Tone sutable to their part in this Scene of Sorrow.

The heart of this unfortunate Prince was penetrated with so great Afflictions, that it could not admit of any sense of lesser; and it was now too late to seek for any Consolation. The only

ly comfortable thought which *Zunchin* could now entertain, was how to preserve his Honour, and chiefly, that of his Royal Consort, the Empress. As for his other Queens and Numerous Wives, he was no longer moved for them; the preservation of the Honour of the Empress, was the sole and last satisfaction he hoped for in this life; and to preserve this, he resolved to perpetrate an Act of the highest violence imaginable. What prodigious Afflictions represented themselves to the Mind of this distressed Emperour, when the very apprehension of them transcended these Stupendious Real ones?

Amongst so great a Number of Officers and great persons as were in this Court, it could not possible be, that they should all generally be perfidious and treacherous; there were some yet so generous, as not to forsake the person of their Master: And it was with this Loyal Attendance that he entred into the Garden; but it was not now to recreate himself, as at other times:

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He went to die, deprived of all comfort, but a very doleful one, which was, that he yet had it in his power to be his own Executioner. The Fountains, Flowers, Groves, Birds, and great variety of living Creatures, which were the pleasant Recreations of this Delicious place, were now no longer the Divertisement of this Prince. Here was nothing now but Grief and Sorrow; all things had a gloomy and mournful Aspect: For as it is the property of distempered Eyes to make all the Objects of Sight appear sutable to their Distemper; so to these persons, who had all their Faculties and Senses totally possessed with Sorrow and Affliction, all the pleasures of this agreeable place seemed but as so many Sad and Melancholy Spectacles.

These afflicted Courtiers, with a doleful silence attended upon the Emperour and the Empress, who could neither speak a word, nor shed a Tear. When the Heart is oppress't with Sorrow, Tears do in some measure refresh it, and Speech seems to discharge the burden

burden of its Grief; but Sorrow had taken such entire possession of the heart of this poor Prince, that it had stopped all passages to relief: And it was requisite for him to retain all his Spirits, lest he should expire under the weight of his Afflictions.

Zunchin was a young Prince, endowed with all the qualities that might render him amiable to his people. His Royal Spouse, the Empress loved him with so tender an affection, that to testifie the sincerity of her passion to him, she resolved to die either with, or before him. It could not certainly but be an aggravation to the Afflictions of this distressed Prince, to hear the Cries and Acclamations of those who fought for and against him; the one side invoking the Emperour, the other the Tyrant: It was like so many Stabs to his very heart, as oft as he heard himself, who was descended from sixteen Emperours his Ancestors and Progenitors, brought in competition with an infamous Villain. These Disgraces pierced the deeper, the more he perceived his

his own party to decline, & that of the Uſurper to be exalted to the very Heavens: The Stars of which, unfortunate *Zunchin* execrated, that they were ſo propitious to a perfidious Varlet, who ſo little merited the Fate of a Soveraign. And being by his direful Calamaties, driven to this Deſpair and Fury, he poured out more bitter Imprecations againſt thoſe cruel and fatal Stars which preſided at his diſaſterous Birth.

This Prince being very penſive and ſolicitous how to prevent greater Diſgraces yet, went together with thoſe who accompanied him towards a little Grove, at the Entrance of which he ſtopp'd; and then the Empreſs gueſſing at his Deſign, approached to him, and giving him her laſt Embraces, ſhe parted from that perſon which was the deareſt to her of all things upon Earth, with all the grief and ſorrow that Humane Nature is capable of. She left the greateſt felicity of this life, to go to the greateſt of Miſeries; ſhe quit for ever an Empire and an Emperour,

an Husband sincerely beloved by her, and who was but now entring into the prime of his Age, and in whom she solely possessed all that she esteemed or loved upon Earth; and she departed from him, that she might go, and by violence take away her own Life, desiring no other satisfaction to her mind, but to have in her power the choice of her Death, and to die the Murderer of her self.

Thus she took leave of the Emperour, not being able to express the passion of her Soul otherwise than with her Eyes; for all Commerce and Communication was ceased between her Heart and Tongue. And then she entred all alone into the Grove, and with a Cord hanged her self upon one of the Trees. A dreadful Spectacle, which might make even those who were more senseless than the Trees, lament so direful a death of so great an Empress.

Presently after, the Emperour went and placed himself near his Wife, whom he saw hanging upon a Tree, having finished her Life by a Death as violent

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as that which he had inflicted upon his Daughter. Then, poor Prince, he asked a little Wine of one of the Lords which attended him; not that he was a Lover of Wine; for on the contrary he was the moſt ſober and moderate in his pleaſures of all the Princes which ever governed that Empire. And as for Women, he was ſo chaſte towards them, that he never frequented his *Seralio*; which gave occaſion to all his Subjects to give him a Title, which ſignifies, *The Chaſte Prince*, or one who never goes to the *Seralio*: It was not therefore for the love he had to Wine, that he asked for it; but he only deſired a little to refreſh and revive his Spirits, which were ſunk and oppreſſed. And doubtleſs he had need of great Vigour to put in execution the Action he deſigned. When the Wine was preſented to him, he ſipped a little of it, and then biting with violence one of his Fingers, and ſqueezing out the Blood, he wrote therewith theſe following Words:

The Mandorins *are all Villains; they have perfidiously betrayed their Prince; they all deserve to be hanged; and it will be a Laudable Act of Justice to execute this Sentence upon them: It is fit they should all suffer Death, that thereby they might instruct those who succeed them, to serve their Prince more loyally. As for the People, they are not Criminal, and deserve not to be punished; and therefore to use them ill, will be Injustice. I have lost my Kingdom which I received in inheritance from my Ancestors. In me is finished the Royal Line, which so many Kings my Progenitors continued down to me, with all the Grandeur and Fame sutable to their Majestick Dignity: I will therefore for ever close my Eyes, that I may not see this Empire, descended to me, thus ruined and ruled by a Tyrant. I will go and deprive my self of that Life for which I can never suffer my self to be indebted to the basest and vilest of my Subjects. I have not the Confidence to appear before them, who being born Subjects, are become my Enemies and Traytors.*

tors. It is fit the Prince ſhould die ſince his whole State is now expiring: And how can I endure to live, having ſeen the loſs and deſtruction of that which was dearer to me than Life.

The Prince, after he had thus wrote what his juſt grief dictated to him, he untied his Hair, and covering his Face, preſently with his own hands he hanged himſelf upon a Tree near to that on which the Empreſs remain'd ſtrangled. This was the Tragical *Cataſtrophe* of this unfortunate Monarch.

The Emperour of *China* remained thus hanging on a Tree, the Prince who was the Idol of his people, at the very name of whom, Millions of men trembled; the Soveraign of above a hundred Millions of Subjects; the Monarch of a Kingdom as ſpatious as all *Europe*; he who counted his Souldiers by Millions, and his Tributes by hundred of Millions. Finally, the potent Emperour of the great Empire of *China* is hanged upon a Tree, and his Royal Conſort, the Empreſs, upon

another near him. What a weighty Load did the Trunks of these Trees support? But of what weight had it need be to make the great men upon earth duly weigh what is all this terrible and ambitious Grandeur which in so few moments passes from the height of the Felicities of this Life, to an Abyss of Misery!

This unhappy Monarch finished his Reign at the age of 32 years, or according as some say, at 35. But a few years to have said he lived, but fewer to say that he reigned, if compared with his Predecessors; for his Grandfather *Vanliè* ruled over *China* near fifty years, and *Zunchin* lived but thirty five.

He died very soon; but it was his Misfortune he died not sooner: For true it is, that whoever it be, King or Emperour, who reckons his years which have been exposed to such direful Tragedies, cannot be said to have lived such a number of years, but to have undergone a far greater number of miseries and calamities.

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The relation makes no mention how many years *Zunchin* reigned. And whoever reads theſe Tragical Events, hath reaſon to deſire that his juſt Curioſity might be ſatisfied herein. But all that can be gathered of a certainty both from the Printed Relations in *China*, and thoſe in Manuſcript, is that in the laſt 22 years which preceded the Revolution of this Empire, there were four or five Kings and abſolute Monarchs, who ſucceſſively ruled this great State. *Vanliè* Grandfather to *Zunchin* the laſt King, had in 1618. ruled 46 years, and continued his Reign ſome years more. After the Death of *Vanliè*, his Son *Thaicam* ſucceeded him, but he only reigned ſome Moneths: *Thaicam* had for his Succeſſor his eldeſt Son *Thienchi*; this *Thienchi* was ſucceeded by his Brother *Zunchin* the laſt Emperour of this Race, whom the *Spaniſh* Relation calls the *Don Rodrigue* of *China*. By this it is manifeſt that this unfortunate Prince cannot be ſaid to have reigned many years, though it be uncertain when he

began his Reign; for the Relations only take notice that he reigned in the year 1634. After him it cannot be said that there was ever any other Soveraign Monarch in *China* but the *Cham* of *Tartary*; for as for *Ly*, neither the detestable crime of his Treason and Rebellion, nor the short space of his Usurpation could give him any right to take upon him the Title of King of *China*. Thus this great Monarchy in a few years hath had many Kings; but this doth not add to the felicity of a State, nor are the people the more happy who have experimented the Rule of so many Masters; but the contrary: For it is Experience and the Art of Governing which makes Kings deservedly to be esteemed of as excellent Princes, and their Government happy. Therefore those Nations ought to bless the King of Heaven, whom he blesses in blessing their Kings with long Reigns.

Although it may be said, that the Emperour and the Empire did both at the same time expire in the person of *Zunchin*;

Zunchin; yet it is certain that the overthrow and revolution of this great Monarchy did not happen on such a sudden as it appeared: For several years before the Symptomes of a mortal Distemper manifested themselves in the Body Politick of this State; and the dangerous Illness thereof was sufficiciently known to cause a general dread of the Consequences; but no care for the Remedy; so remiss and imprudent a negligence was there, which served only palpably to discover the weakness of the Government. The State of *China* resembled a sick person, who feels an Illness, fears the Effects, but neglects his Cure: And it may be said to have been seiz'd upon by Death, when it was too late to act or do any thing but to behold the inevitable ruine and destruction thereof. The least Aches, if neglected, often prove mortal: But here the fatal Effects were manifest, and therefore it was the more important to have remedied the causes. The Empire of *China* cannot therefore be said to have been lost by an incura-

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ble Illneſs, but by an Illneſs to which due and timely Remedies were not applied; and it will always be to be feared that that State which is governed with ſuch a ſupine remiſsneſs, will often be in danger to fall under the like calamities.

The Report of the Emperours death was quickly ſpread over all the Town. And then thoſe Loyal Subjects who yet diſputed the Tyrants Entrance into the Palace, hearing of the death of their Prince, for whom they fought, abandoned their Reſolution. And now the Uſurpers, who were the more animated meeting with no oppoſition, purſued their Victory, which they ſecured in all parts. Thus *Ly* preſently making himſelf Maſter of both the City and Court, took up his Quarters in the Imperial Palace, where he ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of all the prodigious Treaſures of this vaſt State; and in general, of all things which contributed either to the Magnificence or Pleaſure of *Zunchin*. The Relations made no mention what became of the three Royal

Royal Corps. They only say that the Tyrant losing no time, caused himself to be Crowned in the Court at *Pequin*, and to be proclaimed the Soveraign Emperour of *China*.

After his Coronation he issued out a Proclamation enjoyning all the *Mandorins* to give in their Names and Qualities, that in his new Goverment he might bestow amongst them such Employments as he judged requisite. Whereunto several of the *Mandorins* gave Obedience; but divers others of the most considerable in the whole State, that they might (though it was too late) manifest the Allegiance which they owed to their Lawful Prince, entred into a very barbarous and unprofitable resolution, by death to follow him. By which they thought they should appear very Loyal to him whom they had most treacherously served in his Life-time and Reign. All these persons, who were the most eminent of the whole Empire, acting like so many *Barbarians* and desperate men, who saw themselves surrounded with

with so many inevitable Calamities which would render their Lives both disgraceful and burdensom to them, did without any hesitation destroy themselves by divers sorts of violent Deaths. Some cut their own Throats, others strangled themselves, and others præcipitated and drowned themselves in Wells and Holes.

As for those Lords and other Officers of the Court, who attended on the Emperour and the Empress into the Garden, though there be no certain information of their death, yet probably they either all or the greatest part of them died with their Master, and by the same kind of Death that those persons had made choice of for whom they had so great a veneration; for divers others who had never declared so great Constancy and Courage, did not forbear to give this testimony of their Loyalty, when the Tyrant required their Names.

The rest of the *Mandorins*, who were not minded to shew themselves so zealous for the memory of their Prince,

Prince, according to the Tyrants Orders, delivered in their Names, perſwading themſelves that by this ready Obedience they ſhould make themſelves very conſiderable in this new upſtart Court. But they found themſelves much fruſtrated in their expectations; for ſo far were they from being thereby the more conſidered by the Uſurper, that on the contrary, aſſoon as he had received their Names and Qualities, reſolving to take an advantage of their baſe unworthineſs, he condemned them in the payment of ſeveral great Sums of Money, in proportion to the Eſtates and Offices every one of them were poſſeſſed of, pretending that they ought to make reſtitution to him of all which they had defrauded their Lawful Soveraign of. And upon this pretenſion, whoever either would not, or could not pay his Fine within the prefixed time, was inſtantly condemned to Death; and no day paſſed in which ſome or other of theſe wretched perſons did not by cruel Torments loſe their Lives. Nor did the Tyrant

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ſtay here, but publiſhed new Declarations, that thoſe pretended Debts, Fines and Taxes which the Fathers had refuſed to pay, were payable by the Children, upon the ſame pain of death. Thus the Tyrant *Ly* dealt with divers of the *Mandorins*, as well thoſe who declared themſelves for him, as thoſe who in ſome meaſure teſtified a reſpect for the memory of their Prince. It was a juſt Recompenſe to theſe Traytors, and Chaſtiſement to thoſe who too late regarded their Loyalty to their King and Country.

This was the miſerable condition of the Empire of *China* during the years 1640, 41, and 42. The *Tartar* entred not to make open War till the end of 1643; hearing then that *Zunchin* the Lawful Emperour, had loſt both his Empire and Life. The Fame whereof could not be kept within the Walls of the City, but was quickly diſperſed all over *China*, and from thence through *Tartary*; in each of which States it made different Impreſſions in the minds of men, according to their good or

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ill Affections to the Emperour and Empire.

The *Tartar* did not make any ſhew of Joy at the News of *Zunchin*'s death. He rather ſeemed very much moved at it, as a very deplorable Accident, of a moſt pernicious Example, and therefore ought to be ſeverely and condignly puniſhed: But he was not diſpleaſed at the new right to that Empire he judged did thereby accrue to him. He began not only to diſcourſe of it, but to argue it very hotly: He maintained that he was now freed from any Obligation which lay upon him from the Oath by which the *Tartarian* Princes had tied themſelves to the Royal Family of *China*, never to make any Attempt upon that State; foraſmuch as that Family was now extinct in the perſon of *Zunchin*, and had left the Empire to the power of the Uſurper and Tyrant. He pretended it was now very juſt and right for him to enter upon the ancient Rights which the *Tartars* had heretofore to that Empire, ſeeing that theſe Rights had only

ly been yielded up to the Royal Family which then reigned, and that those only are to be understood to be comprehended thereby who were descended in a direct Line from Father to Son. Else if all the Kindred of the Emperour of *China* were to be understood to be preferable to the *Tartars*, in their pretensions to this Crown, it was both very insignificant and fruitless to have inserted this Restriction; *That they did only renounce their Right to the Family which then reigned.* For Kings and Princes can never fail of Kindred, and thus the Empire could never have revolved to the *Tartars*, who had treated very clearly and sincerely, always supposing that the Soveraignty might pass, as is very usual in all Monarchies, from one Family to another.

He pretended further, that admitting there should yet remain any of the Kindred of *Zunchin*, it must be granted that they were all in so weak and low a condition, that they could never be in a capacity of acting any thing consi-

considerable for the Liberty of their Subjects, and therefore ought to be reputed as persons dead and lost, rather than living, and in any probability of obtaining the Crown. That it was also to be considered, that the Rebel who had found so little opposition in raising himself from a private Souldier to be Master of the Imperial Court, and six of the principal Provinces of the Empire, had already overcome the greatest difficulty, in making himself the Soveraign Monarch of that great Empire; and now that he was possessed of the Forces and Treasures of *China*, no Prince of that Nation could hinder him from confirming his Authority, and triumphing in his Rebellion: That it was of dangerous consequence, to leave in this Usurper an example to other Rebels of oppressing their Kings, and subduing their States and Subjects.

Thus they argued in the Council of the *Cham* of *Tartary*, and at last concluded; That as it was on the one side of high importance to go and revenge

a Prince and State oppressed; so on the other side, it was neither just nor equitable that his Highness should leave his own Empire in danger to become a prey to his Enemies, and consume all his Forces and Treasury to regain by Conquest the Empire of *China*, that he might afterwards deliver it up to any one who was descended from the Kings of *China*, or perhaps to some not at all allied to them; for it was not to be doubted, but many would falsly pretend themselves to be of the Royal Family. Therefore since the main and principal Branch of that Royal Stock was now extinct, and that the lesser were all brought under the power of the Tyrant, who daily shed the Royal Blood yet remaining, it must be granted by all persons that though Conquest could never rightly entitle a Rebel to the Soveraignty, yet it might a second time confer the just and lawful possession of *China* upon the *Tartars*.

Having with these Argumeuts justified their Claim to the Empire of *China*, it now remained that they should confirm

confirm it with the power of their Sword. And for this they prepared with all possible expedition, and the more eagerly, for being a warlike and generous Nation, they were perswaded that not only the Justice of their pretensions, but their Honour engaged them in it, that thereby they might avenge the quarrel of all Kings, in making this perfidious Traitor (who by his Treason had possessed himself of the Empire, by reducing his lawful Soveraign to that extremity, that out of despair he became his own Executioner) an example and terrour to all disloyal Subjects.

All these Considerations fix'd the *Tartars* in their resolutions for the conquest of *China*, and presently they issued out all convenient Orders for this Expedition. They recruited their troops with new Levies, and in a short time they raised several potent Armies. But still they were unwilling to pass over the Wall, or make any Irruption upon that Empire til they were called in by some of the Heads of the *Loyal Chineses*,

perſwading themſelves, that if they deferred their entrance into *China* till they were importun'd thereto from them, they ſhould thereby both better ſecure and juſtifie their Conqueſt, and clear themſelves from all reproaches of breaking their League, which till then they had preſerved with that Empire. They were ſtaying in expectation of ſome ſuch Overture, when it preſented it ſelf to them as favourably as they could have wiſhed; for one of *Zunchin's* Generals, to whom he had committed the Guard of the Frontiers towards *Tartary*, ſent to the *Tartars* to ſolicite them to enter into *China*. This poſſeſſed the *Tartars* of all the advantages which they had ſo long wiſhed for, as judging them abſolute neceſſary for the accompliſhment of their deſigns.

The General, who was called *Uſangui* had always kept his Loyalty to his Prince unſpotted, though in this laſt occaſion he could not render him any important Service; for the Rebels were ſo numerous, and the Loyal Sub-

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jects so few in comparison, that they could make no considerable Attempt. But now this *Vsanguè* did most passionately desire some opportunity to revenge both the death of his Master and of his Father, who was a great Officer in the Emperour of *China*'s Court, and was put to death by the Tyrant, for the approved Loyalty both of himself and his Sons, therefore *Vsanguè*, who wanted neither Zeal to revenge his King, nor sense of his own Injuries, considered that there was not in the whole Empire Forces enough to attempt the bringing the *Tyrant* to his condign punishment; that it was not to be hoped that any of the Princes of the Bloud Royal could ever regain the Empire; that the whole State in all likelihood would become the prey and spoil of some new upstart Traitor; and therefore he judged, that it would be less dishonourable for that Nation to submit to the Dominion of an Emperour who had won it by Conquest, though he was a Forreigner, since there was no probability for the *Chineses* to

imagine ever to be able to shake off the yoke of Tyranny. For these considerations, he judged it expedient to address himself to the *Tartars*, whom he knew to be both powerful, and courageous, and therefore believed that it must be them only who could the soonest reward the Tyrant according to his deserts. And therefore resolved to call them in to the Conquest of this Empire, and obliged himself to give them entrance through that part of the Wall which was committed to his Guard.

Without all dispute this was a most pernicious resolution, and such as could only tend to the compleating of the entire ruine of the whole State. In all appearance this *Vsanguè* was more intent upon revenging his private quarrel than successfully to serve his Countrey; or else his Zeal to discharge his duty in taking vengeance of the Tyrant, blinded him so, that he did not discern that this way of revenge would inevitably procure the irreparable ruine of his own Countrey. It is true,

the Tyrant had already made himself very potent; but it was to be considered that he was by birth a *Chineſe*, as likewiſe were all his Souldiers; that time doth daily produce various alterations in the ſtate of all affairs; that it was more facile for thoſe of the ſame Nation to equalize the Tyrant in power, and by watching their opportunity, to ſuppreſs him, than to ſupport the force of ſo warlike a Nation as the *Tartar*. And moreover the Tyrant became every day more and more odious to the people, and it was eaſie to imagine that this hatred would in a ſhort time produce ſome Conſpiracy powerful enough to ruine him.

But that which was yet more conſiderable, was, that the Southern Provinces, which were the richeſt and the moſt powerful of all *China*, had already crowned, and acknowledged for their Lawful King, a Prince of the Royal Family, who might in a ſhort time raiſe Forces as potent as thoſe of the Tyrant; and having the advantage of Right and Juſtice on his ſide,

be quickly in a condition to fight him; or if he was desirous to spare the blood of his people, he might easily find out some other way to cut him off.

The Government of this new King was already very plausible to his Subjects. He was very mild and prudent in his Conduct of Affairs, and neglected nothing which might either establish or enlarge his Authority. His manner of Government was accompanied with Qualities directly opposite to those of the Tyrant, which made him every day more beloved, as the Tyrant daily became more odious for the insupportable Insolency and Arrogancy with which he treated the principal persons of the Empire. Thus the Renown and Grandeur of the Royal Blood on the one side, and the despicable Vileness of a Rebel on the other, had made such an Impression in the Spirits of the people, that there was great reason to hope that the whole Empire would within a short time be reduced under a Lawful Prince.

But the too precipitate Zeal of the Gene-

General *Vſanguè* would not permit him to take ſo far a Proſpect, or elſe (as it is very probable) he was not ſufficiently informed of what paſſed in the Southern Provinces, till ſuch time as the *Tartar* was already entred into *China*; for the Relation which came then, though it be very obſcure in this point, as in divers others, not ſufficiently remarking the time, yet it ſeems to intimate that the Prince was not Crowned nor ſubmitted to as Lawful King, till after the *Tartar* had paſſed the Wall.

This inconſederate Proffer and Demand of *Vſuanguè* was moſt acceptable to the *Tartarian Court*, being it was that great advantage to their Intereſt, which they had ſo long coveted. And they judged to be thus called in, was a full acknowledgment of their Right, and that now there remained nothing but taking poſſeſſion, to make themſelves the Lawful Maſters.

The *Tartars* thought this would exempt them from all juſt reproach of either

either invading or surprizing the *Chinæses*. And though it be true that their so long forbearance to enter into *China*, and the importunity with which they were called in, even by some of the *Chineses* themselves, cannot sufficiently justifie the Conquest of the *Tartars*, being there were so many Princes of the Royal Family of *China*, then living, yet it is admirable to consider how solicitous these people were to justifie themseves, and to give a plausible account of their management of this Affair, with which many Politicians would not so much have troubled their Consciences: And yet these people who had all this regard to Justice, are *Barbarians*. Our Politicians of *Europe*, who have so little, are Civiliz'd, that is to say, persons instructed in all the Duties of Humane and Civil Society. But if the name of Politician signifies only an able civiliz'd person, it may very well be said that the *Tartars* in these latter days have been as Politick, and as Civiliz'd as most Politicians elsewhere.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Tartars *enter into* China. *The Tyrant* Ly *flies. The young* Xunchi *makes his entrance into* Pequin, *and is there Crowned Emperour. He declares War against the King of* Corea, *and makes his Kingdom Tributary.*

THE *Tartars* resolving to enter into *China*, being importun'd thereto by the General *Vsuangue*, omitted nothing necessary for the execution of so great an Exploit. Orders were issued out in all parts for all provisions for War, the preparations for which were sutable to the Grandeur of the Enterprize.

Their Prince was called *Xunchi*, and was not above 10, or 12 years old, but endowed with so much Wit and Courage, that they supplied the default of his years. This young Monarch

narch resolved to pass into *China*, at the head of his Army. As his presence must needs more animate the courage of his Souldiers, retain them in their Loyalty to him, prevent Differences and Disorders amongst his Commanders, so it could not but at the same time excite an ambition in his Subjects, to go and serve in that War, where they should see their young Prince in the Field, and in so tender an age undergo all the Toils of War.

The *Tartars* having now made sufficient provision of all necessaries for their Expedition, they entred into *China*, by that part of the Wall, through which the General *Vsuanguè* had opened them a passage. They were not displeased that the Northern Provinces which were in subjection to *Ly*, underwent the first Inconveniences of the War, as it may be judged, by their going straight against the Tyrant, perswading themselves that thereby they should render their entrance less odious, and their Designes less suspected by those who had not as yet sided with them.

It

It was in the year 1643. that the *Tartars* made this irruption into *China*; neither the Day nor the Moneth is set down; but it may very well be supposed, that it was towards the latter end of that year; for the Relation saith, that in the space of three years and some odd Moneths that vast Empire was entirely conquered, and that the last of all the Towns which submitted to the *Tartarian* yoke, was *Canton*, of which the *Tartar* possessed himself in the beginning of *January*, 1647. Neither is the number of the Forces which went upon this Expedition very certainly known; we only know that their Number both of Horse and Foot were almost incredible.

They divided their Army into several distinct Bodies of Foot and Horse, some of a hundred, some of two hundred thousand men, which at the first did very much incommodate one another; for some of them advanced, plundered, and subdued that part of the Countrey which was designed the Prey and Conquest of others.

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The *Cham* of *Tartary* was accompanied with three of his Unkles, who supported this young Prince, & serv'd him with Valour and Loyalty, rarely to be parallell'd. Their care was from the very beginning to gain a Repute to the power of their Sword, and by mildness and moderation to ingratiate their government with the people. The elder of these three Princes, who was very eminent for his skill and ability in the Art of Government, kept himself always close to the person of the Emperour, and instructed him with prudent Counsels, and took such care of his Person and Fame, as if he had been his Son rather than his Nephew. The two other Unkles of the Emperour, who were younger, commanded his Armies, and by their Loyalty and Valour they caused the Emperour's Arms to triumph in all parts. One of these did more eminently signalize himself in this Conquest, by which he gained the Fame of the most Valiant Captain of the whole Nation, and acquired the Title of the Conquerour of *China*.

The

The War in a short time extended it self into the Province of *Pequin*, the Capital City whereof had for the last Ages been always the Seat of the Court of the Emperours of *China*, and there the Tyrant had established himself, and drawn to him all the Grandees of his Party. But the Fame and Success of the *Tartars* quickly displaced him. There were only some few places, which did render themselves by force; all the other yielded to the Threats of the *Tartars*, out of the fear and apprehension they had, that they should be as severely chastised as those were who made any Resistance. Thus, though in some few places the *Chineses* were so obstinate as not to submit to a Forreign Power, and in others they made some shew of resistance, yet generally they all presently yielded themselves up to the strongest, and few or none did firmly adhere to the Tyrant.

The *Tartars* having thus prosperously began their Conquest without meeting with any considerable Obstacle, which

which might put a ſtop to their progreſs, reſolved to loſe no time, but to march with their whole Army towards *Pequin*. The deſire they had to find the Uſurper there, made them haſten, that they might with all poſſible ſpeed pluck the Crown from off that unworthy Head.

The Tyrant had in *Pequin* a very gallant and numerous Army, who were very well paid, and ſuch as in all appearance would have made a very reſolute Defence. This made it generally be believed, that if convenient order was taken, ſhould the Enemy gain the Victory, the purchaſe thereof would coſt him much Bloud. But this Uſurper being but a cowardly Traitor, and all his Souldiers ſo many treacherous Villains, their huffing Vapours quickly vaniſhed. Till now they only contended with Deceit and Treaſon: They had only overcome naked men, people diſordered, and ſo ſurprized, that they had not time to prepare for their Defence; but now they were obliged to face an Enemy, who came prepared

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to give battel, in ſearch after them, and ſuch an Enemy which was fleſh'd in the Victory of all thoſe who ever durſt oppoſe them. *Ly* knew there was no ſafety for him ſo near his Enemy; for as it would be raſhneſs to run the hazard of a Battel, ſo the danger was equal, to ſtay and expect his Enemy, and to think to defend himſelf, being blocked up in the City of *Pequin*, therefore he reſolved to retreat, and to abandon his Capital City aſſoon as the Enemy was within three days journey from it.

The Tyrant, before he diſcamped, diſcharged ſome of his Choler upon the people, and executed moſt horrible Cruelties in the City. This was to puniſh them for the reſpect which in ſome meaſure they ſeemed to retain towards their Lawful Soveraign: It being moſt true, that they always ſhewed a greater abhorrency to his Treaſon, than any Zeal or Inclination to his Intereſts. Therefore aſſoon as he had revenged himſelf on the Inhabitants of *Pequin*, preſently with his Aſſociates

he took his flight, and carried along with him the Treasures of all the Emperours of *China*: But he was not so loaded with Riches, as with the execration of the People, which have eterniz'd his Memory amongst the *Chineses* as the most detestable Villain which ever breath'd.

The *Tartars* presently appeared before the Walls of the City of *Pequin*, and made their entrance without any resistance; but assoon as they perceived that the Tyrant had made his Escape, they made no stay, but instantly followed him; but it was not possible for them to overtake him; therefore the young *Xunchi* returned to *Pequin*, into which, assoon as he had made a most magnificent entrance, they judged it convenient with all expedition to declare him the absolute Monarch of all that *Golden Kingdom*; for so the *Tartars* call *China*.

This young Monarch, after he had caused himself to be Crowned Emperour of all those vast Territories, judged it convenient to settle his Court in the

the Palace of *Pequin*, whither he ſummoned all the Nobility of *Tartary*, and did moſt eagerly prepare for the proſecution of his Victory.

As for the Tyrant *Ly*, that we may never have occaſion to mention him more, all the further mention which the Relation makes of him, is only, that he retreated into the Province of *Xenſi*, which is in the Northern parts of *China*, and one of thoſe ſix Provinces which he had reduced under his Subjection. Thither he went with all his Forces and Treaſure, and made a ſtay with all his Retinue in the Capital City, fortifying himſelf therein as ſtrongly as he could poſſibly. This is all which the Relation informs us concerning the Tyrant, and it makes no farther mention, neither concerning his Perſon, Army, or prodigious riches. It is no ſmall trouble to me that I ſhould have ſo often occaſion to complain of the defect of the Relation. But the perſon who furniſhed me with the Memorials relating to this part of the Hiſtory, knew no more, and ſatisfied

himself with acquainting me, that at the time of his Writing, all things were in such a confusion in the whole State, that he could not possibly clearly inform himself concerning divers Particulars.

This is most certain, that the *Tartars* did in a short time after conquer all the Provinces, even that of *Xensi*, whither *Ly* was retreated; but whether or no he was there seized upon by the *Tartars*, or what became either of him, his Army, or vast Riches, is not at all mentioned. It is strange they should be so negligent in the *Tartarian* Court, as not more particularly to inform themselves herein! For the Relation from the Information of divers persons who came from *Pequin*, since the Coronation of the *Cham*, makes mention of divers Passages less remarkable, but takes no notice of the last Adventures of the Tyrant.

That which is most credibly famed, is, That his Followers, when they more seriously reflected upon the Enormity of the Crimes which this execrable

ecrable Traitor had perpetrated againſt his own Countrey, and the numberleſs calamities which he had drawn upon that once ſo flouriſhing an Empire, and after all this, that he ſhould be ſo infamous a Coward, as not to dare to oppoſe the *Tartars*, nor ſo much as to face them at their firſt approach, when he might more advantageouſly have fought them, having then a very gallant and numerous Army, which now every day mouldered away, and did not only renounce his Authority, but deteſt his very Perſon; and that he ſhould yet keep to himſelf thoſe vaſt Riches, which they judged to be a Spoil more due to them, than to ſo cowardly a Vagabond. They combined together to make away his perſon, and to ſeize upon thoſe Treaſures which he was then poſſeſſed of, and which the Emperours of *China* had been many generations collecting. And when they had executed their Deſign, and divided the Prey, the whole Army disbanded, and diſperſed themſelves up & down the other Provinces.

But should his Souldiers have spared him his Life, it would have been very difficult for him to have escaped some disasterous end or other, from the rage of the rest of his Countreymen; for *Don Julian* was never more abhorred by the *Goths*, who dwelt in *Spain*, than *Ly* was generally by all the *Chineses*. But I shall speak no more of him, and may what I have now said be sufficient to strike a horrour into all such Villains whose punishment can never adequate their Crimes.

I shall only add that this Traitor ruined both his Prince and himself, but the Calamities which he drew upon his Countrey did not expire with him. He had advanced himself by the Fall of his Soveraign. All that ambitious men can aspire to, is only to ascend by the same steps by which others descend; but how little do they consider with what peril they advance themselves, that by the height of their Fall, they may purchase to themselves the greater repentance, that they were ever mounted so high? If so potent an Emperour could

could fall ſo low, what could ſo baſe a Tyrant expect, but quickly to be reduced to that extremity, as to ſearch out a Precipice to fling himſelf down headlong? Yet ſo fatally miſchievous was the Deſtiny of this vile Wretch, that he acted theſe Villanies, though he could not but know, that the Empire and his Countrey would remain only to thoſe who were the leaſt buried in its Ruines. It was at the laſt manifeſt to all perſons, that the Attempt of this perfidious Villain was to ruine the whole State, and there was none but abominated both his Perſon and his Actions. But the Miſchief was done, and his death and puniſhment would not remedy it. So true it is, that all things are with no great violence diſcompoſed, but not ſo eaſily reduced into order again: And from hence it is, that there is nothing more faulty, than to begin a Miſchief; nor nothing more difficult, than to put a period to the progreſs of it.

There was now no more mention made of *Ly* at *Pequin*. *Xunchi* the

young King of the *Tartars* was absolute Soveraign, and so active a Prince was he, that after his first Victory, he would take no respite, or stand still so much as to take breath, but resolved with all speed to exercise his magnanimous Courage in subduing the whole Empire. And that he might the more successfully begin his Enterprize, he considered that the King of *Corea* was his Neigbour, and that it would not be secure for him to leave one so potent behind him. The Kingdom of *Corea* lies on the East of *China*, and is little less in extent than all *Spain*: It is only separated from *China* by a great River, and was Tributary thereto heretofore, when *China* was in subjection to the *Tartars*; but since the *Coreans* have refused to submit themselves to the Dominion of the *Chineses*, and have chosen to themselves a King of their own, who only sometimes sent Presents to the Emperours of *China*; the *Tartars* therefore now laid claim to it by right of their former possession, and upon this pretence they marched towards

wards those parts with their whole Army.

But it was not so easie to conquer the *Coreans* as to subdue *Pequin*; for they are a more warlike people than the *Chineses*, and have for a long time been engaged in a hereditary War with the Inhabitants of *Japan*, who are naturally very fierce, and much addicted to War, and hereby the *Coreans* have learn'd how to handle their Arms in their own Defence; and besides, they were not divided, either by Faction or Treachery, but firmly united in their Councils, and stedfastly resolved to defend themselves. They were governed by a Prince who was unfeignedly beloved, and chearfully obeyed, and who led them into the Field himself; and for these Reasons they gave a greater check to the victorious progress of the *Tartars*, than the *Chineses* could yet do. But the *Tartars* overpowering them in Force, and being animated by their success, gained great advantages over them in all parts. Fortune declared her self so favou-

favourable to the *Tartar*, that she did thereby evidence she destined him only for Victory and Triumph. But though in a short time he reduced a great part of this Kingdom, yet it was not without the loss of his best Souldiers.

The King of *Corea*, perceiving that his Forces were neither for number nor strength sufficient to oppose so powerful an Enemy, thought he should more successfully by submission defend himself. There is nothing which Ambition will not do to support it self; if it be convenient to do any abject or low action, then there is nothing so humble or vile which the proudest spirited man will scorn to act. This Prince, since his Grandeur would not avail him against his Enemy, resolved to seem willing to submit himself to him. As for the *Tartar*, he resembled the Magnanimous *Lion*, or one of those *Hero's*, of whom it is said, that they will grind their Enemies to powder, if they refuse to submit to their power; but make it their Glory to spare those who prostrate themselves at their feet.

The

The King of *Corea* sent therefore to lay his Crown at the feet of the *Cham* of *Tartary*, assuring himself that it would be returned back to him, conditionally that he would acknowledge himself a Tributary to the *Tartar*, who accordingly accepted of his Offers, and assented to treat upon those terms. Thus the King of *Corea* abased himself, that thereby he might be the higher exalted; the readiest way for any person to disentangle himself out of any troublesom affair, and in conclusion, to gain himself an advantage thereby, is to know how subtilly to dissemble; for all men are easily deluded with false Appearances.

In the *Tartarian* Court they considered that they had already their hands full in *China*, and that they could never want employment there, and therefore this Treaty with the King of *Corea* upon these terms, must needs be very advantageous to them; for thereby the Emperour without lessening his Forces would encrease his Fame. Thus the *Cham* returned out of *Corea* with all

all his Army, to *Pequin*. And in the Interim he gave order to the King of *Corea*, without any Arms to follow him to his Court, that there they might better draw up, and conclude upon the Articles of Peace. Accordingly the King of *Corea* confidently relying upon the Parole of this young Monarch, failed not to observe these Orders, and rendred himself at *Pequin*, presently after the Arrival of *Xunchi*, and was received and treated according to his Grandeur, and the Magnificence of that Court. After the King had solemnly made his Homage to the *Cham*, according to the Conditions of Peace, which were concluded upon these Terms, *That henceforth the Kings of* Corea *should by Homage and Fealty hold their Kingdom with all the Dependencies thereof from the Emperours of* Tartary; (Which were almost the very same Conditions with those which were formerly made with the Late Emperours of *China*) he returned with his Diadem and Royal Scepter to his own Kingdom, to the publick Joy, and his private

private satisfaction, which did the more exalt the Fame of the Grandeur and Generosity of the young Emperour of *Tartary*. All that is here reported was concluded in the year 1643. and the beginning of 44.

CHAP. IV.

The Tartar *pursues his Conquest. He reduces five other Provinces bordering upon* Pequin. *His Conduct, that thereby he might illustrate his Victories, and the Orders he prescribed to the Conquered.*

PResently after, the *Tartars* had entred into *China*, their powerful Armies over-ran all parts thereof, and like a violent Torrent carried all before them. Their young Monarch never failed in his own person to appear in all eminent Enterprizes. We have already seen that assoon as he had subdued

dued the Province of *Pequin*, which is the principal of the whole Empire, and one of the ſix which the Tyrant had reduced under his power, how prudently he ſecured himſelf towards *Corea*, which he had made Tributary to him. But this was but as an Eſſay of his Heroick Actions. Now he reſolves with all expedition to ſtrike the terrour of his Arms into thoſe five other Provinces of the North, which yet ſeemed to ſide with *Ly*. Theſe were *Xantum*, *Leantum*, *Honam*, *Xanſi*, and *Xenſi*. This young Prince entred at the Head of his Troops into theſe Provinces in the beginning of 44, and the ſame year ſubdued them all. There was at the firſt ſome few places which made a vigorous reſiſtance, but of no long continuance. The heat of the *Chineſes* did not long laſt, and their great Flaſhes quickly blazed out, and ſerved only to conſume themſelves therein. But it is ſtrange that the *Tartars* ſhould over-run and reduce all theſe Provinces, without meeting with the Tyrant, or ſeeing any appearance of

of either his Army or Treaſure; at leaſt the Relation is ſilent herein.

The Conduct of the *Tartar* in ſo ſwift an Expedition is very remarkable. He went directly with the main Body of his Army, and fell upon the Capital City of the Province, without ever dividing his Forces, or diverting them upon any other Deſign. His Opinion was, that no General of an Army, though he ſhould leave behind him ſome places leſs conſiderable, which he might have poſſeſſed himſelf of, and ſome Bodies of the Enemies Forces, which he might have defeated, yet he need not diſtruſt his Victory. Thus this Prince with the terrour of his numerous and potent Army, preſented himſelf before the Capital City of the Province, which in a ſhort time he alwayes either carried by Storm, or elſe preſently obliged it to render upon Articles. By theſe means, aſſoon as he had made his entrance into the City, he took poſſeſſion not only of it, but of the entire Province; and then he eſtabliſhed all convenient Orders both for

for War and Peace: And from thence he issues out his Summons to all other Towns and places in the same Province, either without all delays to submit themselves to his power, or to prepare for their Defence, and at the same time he gave them assurance that he would receive them into his Favour and Mercy, if without making any resistance, they rendred up themselves: But if on the contrary, they resolved to defend themselves, then he denounced a bloudy War against them. Thus the places which submitted before they were compelled to it by violence, were received and treated with all the Grace and Favour they could expect from so generous a Prince; but as for those places which prepared to make Resistance, he sent his whole Army to summon them the second time; and so numerous and formidable were his Souldiers, that they brought Terrour and Desolation in all parts where-ever they came, and laid their Sieges so close, that those who at first appeared most resolute, after they had felt the rigour of

of the first Assaults, quickly repented themselves; but it was now too late; for the *Tartar* had determined by their example to teach others to yield themselves to his Mercy, before they put him to the cost of bloud; and thereby he likewise designed to instruct their Neighbours, that they might not be deceived, but know what upon the like occasion to expect.

This was the Conduct and Success of the *Tartar* in the conquest of these five Provinces, where the young Prince in his own person commanded in the head of his Troops, as he did likewise in *Corea*. This Expedition concluded with the year 1644. after which he returned to *Pequin* Crowned with Lawrel.

This Prince had made choice of this great City for his Court, and the place of his Residence, and had published his Proclamation, that all the Officers of his Court, and the Nobility of *Tartary*, should appear there. And having already given so many eminent proofs of his undaunted Courage, he

thought it would be now more ſutable to his Grandeur to remit the Conqueſt of the Nine other Southern Provinces of *China* to the Experience and Loyalty of the Generals of his Armies: Either he judged that in all that ſpatious Countrey there was no Enemy glorious enough for him in perſon to contend with; or elſe, having been ſo often victorious, he thought the very Fame of his Arms ſufficient to carry Victory with them where-ever they came. Thus we ſee in all times Examples, which evidence that the common Saying, That the Fortune of War is variable and uncertain, holds not always true. And as this Maxim hath been falſified in the perſons of *Alexander*, the two *Cæſars*, *Julius* and *Auguſtus*; the *Scipio's*, and many ſuch other Conquerors; ſo it may very well be ſaid to have been confuted by young *Xunchi*; who for his Valour may juſtly be parallell'd with all theſe *Hero's*, and like them ſeems to have been born only for Victory and Triumph.

But that which merits the greateſt Admi-

Admiration, and which ought to be recorded, that it may ſerve for an example to other great Princes, is, that amidſt ſo tender an Age, and ſo profound a Darkneſs of Infidelity, it could not be diſcerned, that ſo numberleſs Victories had rendred this Prince either proud or vain-glorious: And yet it muſt be acknowledged, that ſhould this young Monarch, have like thoſe other Conquerours, been puffed up with pride or vanity, yet the Tenderneſs of his Age, his Valour, Power, and Succeſs, conſidering likewiſe that he was a *Barbarian*, void of the knowledge of the true Religion, might very well have pleaded in his excuſe: But the Relation in all his grand Exploits, makes him appear as a Prodigy of Moderation; and Remarks that he never attributed his Victories either to his own Valour or Power, but ſolely to the Soveraign power of the God of Heaven, according to the knowledge he had of him; as for himſelf, he ſaid he was only the Executioner of the Pleaſure and Decrees of Heaven, and

unless from thence he had been most visibly favoured, he declared he should have despaired of success in divers Enterprizes, the execution of which proved most facile & easie to him. And for proof how much he was favoured from above, he recited several Prodigies which he assured himself were pre-ordained by Heaven, that thereby his Arms might be rendred Victorious: Perhaps the Devil, that he might the more blind these people, did by some extraordinary means bring to pass those Adventures which they related; as amongst other things, the *Tartars* do with great assurance affirm, that at their first entrance into *China*, they found a Ford over a River which was very deep, and never before fordable in any part, much less at that place, where the *Tartars* Army marched over. This River they call the Yellow River, because the waters thereof are very much troubled and muddy. The head of it arises beyond *China*, into which it enters by the North, and waters several Provinces thereof, and in

all parts is very large and deep, but more especially at that place where the *Tartars* marched over with their horse and foot, without any difficulty at all.

The like Accident, they say, happened to this Prince, and his whole Army, in their passage over another River. These great Rivers are very frequent in all parts of *China*, and in some places they are of a very extraordinary bredth and depth.

From all these adventures the Emperour of *Tartary* concluded, that the Heavens approved of his Conquest, since to gain him the possession of *China* they acted in such an extrordinary manner. The *Chineses* themselves (which may seem strange) confirm these relations, and say it was decreed from above, that the Empire of *China* should be subdued by the *Tartars*. This they publickly proclaim, hoping thereby to palliate the shame of their Nation, that they have so infamously and cowardly submitted to their Enemies. *The Heavens* (say they) *decreed it should be so, and they preordain'd the confusion and*

destruction of China, *that thereby it might the easier be conquered by another Nation, else the* Chineses *would in another guess manner have received any who should have dared to assault them, and would never so wretchedly have suffered themselves to be subdued by their Enemies.* Thus the conquerers and the conquered do equally pretend to have pursued the decrees of Heaven. The *Tartar* hereby makes his advantage, and the *Chinese* likewise thinks to excuse his base cowardliness. Thus men all the world over ridiculously strain their brains to make God compliant with their pleasure, and so enamoured are they with their fond fictions, that to gain credit to them, they fear not to authorize them upon the supreme reason of the Universe, and the soveraign Truth it self.

The whole *Tartarean* Nation hearing the renown of the victories of their young *Xunchi* in *China*, quickly flowed in. And now that their Country-men were masters, no walls were sufficient to stop their passage; the love of fame, and

the desire to share with their companions in the remains of the pillage of so many fine Cities, and rich Provinces, would not let them sit still, but drew them thither from all parts.

Great need had the Emperour of them all; for besides that he was obliged to maintain great Garrisons in all the Towns and strong places, which in each Province are very numerous, it concerned him likewise ever to keep in the field several potent Armies: some to reduce those people, which as yet had not submitted to him; others to secure what he had already conquered. And it likewise highly imported him to have an Army in readiness to prevent revolts and insurrections of the people, which are very ordinary in a Nation lately conquered; and especially in a Nation, which having been accustomed to the dominion of Princes of their own Countrey, see themselves brought under subjection to Forraigners.

It was this consideration which induced the *Tartar* to engage as many as he could possibly of those *Chinese* soul-

diers,

diers, who were borderers upon *Tartary*, to take employment in his Army; for these are the most warlick and the skilfullest at their arms of all *China*. And principally he endeavoured to draw into his party the heads of the most eminent families, and the most considerable persons of the whole countrey. These persons served both as hostages to him, for the Loyalty of all their dependents, and increased the number of his Souldiers, which he daily raised more and more, that he might with all convenient speed send them to the conquest of the more remote Provinces: but still he took care that the chief Commanders and principal Officers of his Troups were *Tartars*.

As for all other employments which were not Military, though there were many very considerable offices and dignities, the *Tartars* bestowed them amongst the *Chineses*, with less precaution. And herein at the first they proceeded in a method very proper to gain the affections of the people, they continued all the *Mandarins* in their places,

places, onely some of them they advanced to more considerable employments, according to the knowledg they had of their merits. These proceedings did render their dominion less odious: But it must also be confessed, that some time after they turned some out of their employments, reformed and limited the power and jurisdiction of others, and to others they left them onely their naked Titles, but deprived them of their Authority. Neither did they think it convenient any longer to permit the *Chineses* to be the dispensers of Justice to the people, or to have the power of punishing them. And without all doubt, they deservedly merited to be thus chastised, for having formerly made such ill use of their Authority. For it was visible, that the state and Empire of *China* were brought to ruine onely by this; that the interpretation of the Law, and the dispensation of Justice, was confided, or rather abandoned to the Eunuchs, who were both corrupt, and neither qualified nor capacitated for their employments.

As

As for the military charges, the *Tartars* were more diffident of entrusting them in the hands of the *Chineses*, though sometimes they disposed of the commands of some of their Troups to such as they could most rely on, and as they judged most capable; but they always set over them some General, or other considerable Officer of the *Tartars*, who with a greater body of men kept a strict eye over these *Chinese* Troups, and had a more absolute and particular command over them.

But that which did most exasperate and deepest pierce the heart of the *Chineses*, was the Edict which the *Tartars* published, whereby they enjoyned them to cloth themselves after the *Tartarean* fashion, and to cut off their hair, which the *Chineses* love most passionately, and take great care to spruce and perfume it. And generally that which they esteem the most gentile and handsome, is to have their hair, like womens, hang down to their very feet: and therefore this ordinance seemed to them most severe and rigorous. But the

Tartars

Tartars judged it highly important, pretending that conformity in habit would infallibly produce a greater correspondence and conformity in the affections and inclinations of persons, so that a forraign dominion would not be so displeasing, nor seem so uncouth and strange, when this external diversity of habits did not offend the sight. Use and custome makes all things supportable. And whereas the Empire of *China* contains several spacious Countreys, which could not all be conquered at once, they saw no way how to avoid several inconveniences, which would otherwise happen, but by making this distinction of those who were conquered, from those who were not; and for this reason obliging those whom they had first conquered, to cut off their hair, thereby they were easily distinguishable from those who were not. And now there yet remained some mark to be put upon the *Chineses* who had submitted themselves, to know them from the real *Tartars*; and this was very necessary, for it was not very

easie

easie to distinguish them by their faces, there being so great a resemblance in the features of these two Nations. Therefore they judged it requisite to give to the conquer'd *Chineses* some particular Mark, which was, by enjoyning them to wear a bigger tuft of hair on the top of their heads, just as in *Europe* they do to their Gally-slaves, to distinguish such who are *Christians*, from such who are not.

Nothing so cut the *Chineses* to the heart as this did, and they could not possibly prevail with themselves to obey this severe Order. The *Tartars* perceiving they so much scrupled it, reiterated their Injunctions, strictly requiring all persons, without any restriction or exception, upon pain of life, to give a speedy obedience thereto. And now some of them chose to lose their heads with their hair; for they made so great a difficulty to comply with the Edict, that their disobedience cost them their lives. They knew full well their peril, if they were refractory, and yet they

they were so obstinate, that they would rather dye, than be deprived of their hair.

CHAP. V.

One of the Unkles of Xunchi *reduces the City and Province of* Nanchin. *The flight and death of a King of* China, *who had been publickly crowned. Six of the nine Southern Provinces submit themselves to the* Tartar.

THE young *Xunchi*, when he had taken all convenient order for the confirming and securing of his Authority over his new Subjects, had disposed of all Offices in the State, and settled strong Garrisons in all parts of the six Northern Provinces; being resolved not to stir from his Court at *Pequin*, he remitted the conduct of his Armies to one of his Unkles, with order to proceed with all speed to the conquest

conquest of the other Provinces. This Prince in a short time after departed from *Pequin* with a very powerful Army, and marched directly towards the great City of *Nanquin*, which City had been formerly the residency of the Imperial Court, and was now the Metropolis of one of the best Provinces of the whole State.

It was in this Province, nay in this very City, that the *Mandorins* had crowned and proclaimed Emperour a Prince of the Royal Family. As soon as they were informed of the death of the Emperour *Xunchin*, they thought they could do nothing more important for the welfare of the State, than to oppose this lawful Prince to the Usurper. This was the best present remedy for the afflictions and calamities of their Countrey, which they could then think upon. This new King was Son to a Cousen-germane of the Emperour *Xunchin*, in whose Court he had been educated, and was ever considered as a Prince of the Bloud Royal: nay, the Emperour himself, at such time as nothing

nothing disturbed the tranquillity of his Government, took a particular care of him.

This young Prince, who wanted not abilities, quickly perceived, from whence the Storm was to be feared; for from the very time of his Coronation there was a great rumour that the *Tartars* advanced with a very potent Army; and this took up his thoughts more than all the Enterprises of *Ly*. Therefore probably this Prince was not crowned Emperour, 'till after that the *Tartars* had passed the wall. This it was which induced him to refuse the Government, and the stately pomp and lustre of the Imperial Crown. But the *Mandorins* were so importunate with him, and his Soldiers did so confidently assure him victory, that at last he suffered him to be prevailed with to accept of the Crown, though he foresaw that the weight of it would crush him to pieces.

This new King at his Coronation, took upon him the name of *Hunguan*, which signifies *splendour*. But his Reign should

should have been more prosperous to have verified his Title, and made him an Illustrious and splendid Prince. As soon as he had the Crown upon his head, he took all possible care for the preservation of his Empire and Subjects; he provided all conveniences for the most urgent necessities of the Provinces, he raised and repaired the Fortifications of all the towns and places of greatest importance. But he was in a more especial manner careful to secure the Passes, and to obstruct and block up the passage of his Enemy. As for his Army, he made choice of his stoutest men for his Soldiers, and placed over them experienced and valiant Commanders. And for his people, he was resolved to increase their priviledges, and to heap upon them his Acts of Grace: and that he might entirely gain the hearts and affections of his Subjects, his carriage towards them was very different from that of the former Emperours of *China*; for he condescended to a kind of familiarity with them, and when ever any eminent action

on was to be done for the publick benefit, he ever in his own person gave them the first example what they were to do, that thereby he might both instruct and encourage them; and this did so conciliate him the inclinations of his people, that they all voluntarily vowed to pay him all the Loyal Observance and Obedience he could expect from them.

There was just reason to have hoped, that if the General *Usanguè* had not so precipitately called in the *Tartars*, all the Southern Provinces, which make the greatest and best part of *China*, might have been retained under their Obedience to their Lawful Soveraign, who was powerful enough to have suppressed the Usurper; and it would have been no more difficult for him, than it was for the *Tartar* to have dissipated the vain projects of the Traytor; nay, he might peradventure have driven him to that streight, as to have obliged him by a voluntary death to prevent the ignominious Execution due to his perfidious Treachery.

But the Reign of this new Emperour was never destined to be blessed with so great Felicity, nor with any long continuance; for he reigned over the nine Southern Provinces little more than a year; But during that small space of time in which *Xunchi* was taken up in the Conquest of the six Northern Provinces, and the Kingdom of *Corea*.

Assoon as the *Cham* began to taste the first-fruits of his Victory, the entire Invasion of the Empire did no more disturb his Conscience, than did the breach of the peace which he had sworn with the Royal Family of *China*. He did not now consider that it would have been but natural Justice to leave to this *Chinese* Prince, at least that part of the Empire where he had been chosen King, and the Tyrant had never extended his Dominion. He knew that *Hunguan* was publickly and undoubtedly acknowledged to be a Prince of the Blood Royal; but Fortune and Victory had now new Modeliz'd his Conscience, and made Justice appear

transformed. Now he publickly declared that his Right to the whole Empire was ſufficiently juſtified by this pretext, That thoſe perſons of the Blood Royal, to whom the peace was ſworn, were only to be underſtood of ſuch who were immediately deſcended from the Emperours in a direct Line from Father to Son, as the Succeſſion of the 17 laſt Emperours had been continued in that Family. He was deſirous to have it thought that this explanation ought to be made of the Oath, that hereby he might be freed from it, as likewiſe from all Obligations which lay upon him to any who might ever pretend to be of the Royal Family of the Emperours of *China*.

See now what was the *Tartar's* Juſtice. But when we reflect upon the practiſe of many Chriſtian Princes, there is leſs reaſon to wonder that a *Barbarian* Prince, an Idolater and Infidel, ſhould with all his might advance his Conqueſt, ſince now it was ſo facile, ſo glorious, and of ſo high importance to his Grandeur and Intereſt. He had

began too successfully, to stop in the midst of his Course. And the young *Xunchi* proceeded too swiftly to be stayed now, with these initial considerations, whether he had or he had no Right; whether he was, or he was not obliged to be a punctual Observer of the Oath and the Peace which his Ancestors had sworn with the Emperours of *China*.

The Emperour's Unkle, whom he had employed in the entire Conquest of all *China*, did with all possible speed advance with all his Forces towards the province of *Nanquin*; he went directly against him whom the *Chineses* had crowned their Emperour, and was by his Instructions commanded with all diligence to endeavour to seize upon his person, and take from him both his Crown and his Life. These were Reasons of State, but they were cruel and barbarous Reasons, which because they did exclude all of the Blood Royal from any Right of Succession, must likewise adjudge to Death this Prince, who was called, and in a manner

ner compelled to it; but this was to cut off at the first all occasions of Revolts, which might disturb the *Tartars* in their possession of the Empire of *China*.

Assoon as the General of the *Tartars* was entred into the Province of *Nanquin*, at the first he met with a somewhat vigorous resistance from the *Chineses*, but after they had seen those vast Armies, they did not long persevere in their Resolution. All began to bend and yield to the Success and Valour of his Forces. And proportionably as he went further into the Countrey, he met with fewer Enemies to contend with. Many who saw how dear it had cost their Neighbours to have endeavoured to stop the progress of the Victors, thought they should be more secure by being less obstinate. The General therefore advanced on his Road, and having by the force of his Arms subdued all Obstacles which did impede his March, he came and lodged with his whole Army within sight of the great City of *Nanquin*.

The Emperour *Hunguan* resided there with all his Court, and lived in all the Splendor sutable to his Person and Dignity; but he was now confirmed that he was not deceived in his apprehension of the weight of the Imperial Diadem, and now he was convinced that it would have been more advantageous to him to have persisted in so Honourable a Refusal. His Captains and his Souldiers who did so vapour when the *Tartars* were at a greater distance from them, were not now they were near them, so couragious; though now, if ever, it was the time for them to give proof of their Resolution and Courage; but in stead of Valour, there appeared nothing but Timorousness in all parts. His best Commanders, on whom he most relied, were all defeated, and those Posts abandoned from whence he hoped most to have annoyed the Enemy: Seeing himself therefore in so ill a posture of defence, and no better upheld, he resolved not to stay till the Town was battered and assaulted by the *Tartars*, but with his choicest

choiceſt Troops departed out of *Nanquin* in the night time; and preſently all the moſt conſiderable perſons in the City followed him; ſo that there was none ſtaid in it, but a great Rabble of perſons very uncapable of defending a City.

In the Morning the *Tartar* came to view the place nearer, and as he was diſtributing the Scaling Ladders, and giving Order for the Aſſault, he ſpied all the Gates open, and without any further delay entred in. Thus without drawing his Sword, he became Maſter of this ſtrong City, which was fortified and defended with ſo many Walls and Bulwarks, that according to the Accompt the Relation gives of it, two thouſand men of *Europe* might therein for ſeveral years have maintained a Siege againſt a very powerful Army. It was ſufficient for the *Tartar*, only to preſent himſelf before it, to win a City of that vaſt extent, that a man on Horſeback could ſcarce in two days time ſurround the Circumference and all the Outworks of the firſt Wall.

The General was not a little puffed up with his Victory, but being vex'd and impatient that the Emperour *Hunguan* had escaped him, without any intermission he pursued after him with all his Horse. His diligence gained him the Success he so eagerly desired; for he quickly overtook the unfortunate Prince, and having met him in disorder, and not able to make any Defence, being abandoned by the greatest part of his Retinue, he presently seized upon him, and (as it is generally reported) put him to death at the very instant.

This was the end of the Life and Reign of this Monarch, who caused himself to be stiled *Hunguan*, the Bright and Splendid Prince; but all his Splendour and Brightness was only like Lightning which quickly vanishes. All these glittering Flashes are but of a short continuance, and like an *Ignis Fatuus*, quickly disappear.

After the death of *Hunguan*, the Victor returned to *Nanquin*, having constituted a *Chinese Mandorin* Vice-

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roy and Governour of the whole Province. This *Mandorin* had been formerly one of the chief Miniſters of State to two or three of the Emperours of *China*, and was called by a Name which ſignifies Ape or Monkey, becauſe ordinarily in his Diſcourſe he uſed many affected Actions and Geſtures with his Hands, Head and Mouth. But he was ever eſteemed of generally as a great Stateſman, and reputed a very able and intelligent perſon in the Art of Government.

The General of the *Tartars* committed to this *Mandorin* the ſole care of all the Affairs and Concernments of that entire Province, and after he had levied ſome Recruits, and given his Troops ſome time to refreſh themſelvs, he proceeded to the Conqueſt of the two Neighbouring Provinces *Schiamſi* and *Fuquam*, and with the ſame Fortune and Succeſs which did uſually attend the Arms of the *Tartars*, in a little time he ſubdued them both. Some places, as in the other Provinces, made a reſiſtance, but a very ſhort and ill-

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managed one. The other places taking advantage by the Misfortune of their Neighbours, presently submitted to the Victors.

These three Provinces were all reduced under the Dominion of the *Tartar* in less than a year, which was 1645. Now as the General was determining to advance his Troops towards the other three Provinces which bordered upon these, which were *Honan*, *Suchuen* and *Cancheu*, News was brought him that he was already Master of them, without being necessitated to draw his Sword. They testified the more readily their Obedience to all Orders his Highness should please to impose upon them, because they had leisure to consider to how many inevitable Calamities they should expose themselves, should they think to stop the Triumphant progress of their victorious Enemies: Therefore they resolved to prevent their ruine, and if by submitting they could not secure themselves from all the sad Inconveniences which in all Wars are unavoidable,

ble, yet they hoped their Oppreſſions hereby would be but light in compariſon of ſuch as they muſt infallibly expect in a War with an exaſperated Enemy, where there is no Mercy to be expected by the Conquered.

CHAP. VI.

The Tartars *find the greateſt reſiſtance in the Conqueſt of the three laſt Provinces. A* Chineſe *Pyrate makes himſelf very potent. Who this Pyrate was.*

OF all the fifteen Provinces into which the vaſt Empire of *China* is divided, twelve of them were in the year 1645. entirely ſubjected to the Dominion of the *Tartars*; there only remained the reduction of three, *viz. Foquien*, otherwiſe called *Chincheo*, *Canton*, *Quanſi*, to complete the entire Conqueſt of all *China*: But it was more

more difficult to subdue these than all the rest; for some of these Countries did not only border upon the Seas, but were also rugged and mountainous, and the people very warlike; more particularly those of *Foquien* or *Chincheo*; and being thus advantageously seated, they were likely more to exercise the Valour and Warlike Discipline of their Enemies, than as yet any of the *Chineses* had done. But besides the Ruggedness of the Countrey, and the Martial Genius of the Inhabitants, there were two other Obstacles which presented themselves, and for some time put a stop to the *Tartars* in compleating their Victory.

The first, but least considerable, was a new Prince of the Blood-Royal, who had retired himself into these Provinces, and in the City of *Foquien* was Crowned Emperour of all *China*. This Prince at his Coronation stiled himself *Janvan*. All these Titles have some illustrious signification; but I could never be informed what this last meant. If *Hunguan* was only a flash of Lightning,

ning, this latter was only a Vapour or Exhalation. All these people with their great Emperour did but a little affright the *Tartar*. But they perswaded themselves, that if their new Prince was not powerful enough to recover that part of *China* which was lost, he might yet secure to himself these three Provinces, of which he was now Master. And that which did most encourage them, was, their Princes having employed under him a most eminent *Chinese* Captain, who was highly reputed for his Valour, and till now had ever been very successful in divers adventures both by Sea and Land.

The second Obstacle I intimated before, was this Renowned Captain, and he was the greatest and last which ever the *Tartars* met with in all their Conquest. Upon this very mans Account they were obliged to change their usual method in the management of affairs, and to go to work a different way than yet they had done: Before they threatned, and imperiously commanded all people to submit unto them upon pain

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of severely feeling their displeasure; but now, since they prevailed so little, even by force and violence, instead hereof, they did not (contrary to their usual custom) think scorn to come to Proposals of Agreement, Treaties, nay Intreaties to a person of no quality, a very Pirate.

This man, who had made himself such a Terrour to the *Tartars*, was by birth a *Chinese*, and was called *Iconi*, a Name which then made a great noise even in very remote Countries. And for the better Intelligence of the state of Affairs in *China*, as they then stood, I judge it will much satisfie the Readers curiosity to recite some of the Adventures of his Life. He was born in a little Village near the Sea-side, not far from the City of *Annay*; the place of his Birth was not more obscure than his Parents were poor and miserable; when he was very young, he went out of his own Countrey, to try if elsewhere he could not better his Fortune; and being a bold witty Fellow, he did not despair to raise himself in time to be some

ſome conſiderable perſon, which that he might, he judged it neceſſary for him to travel abroad, ſee the world, and to ſeek out ſome convenient employment; upon this account he came to the City of *Macao*, and there, as it is uſual for perſons of his years and condition, he placed himſelf in the Service of ſome Workman or Tradeſman, and from thence he came to ſerve a *Chineſe* Merchant: This was no very high preferment, neither did he reſolve to ſtay here. And as he wanted not for wit; he every day improved himſelf, grew more and more cunning, and capable of higher advancement. And here in this City being inſtructed in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, he was baptized, and called *Jaſpar*; but for what reaſon he took this Name, I cannot tell, unleſs perhaps he imagined it very fortunate. *Icour* or *Jaſpar* ſeeing himſelf at *Macao* but in a mean condition, and not much conſidered, returned into his own Countrey; but not being advanced there, nor contenting himſelf to live low and obſcure,

scure, he went from thence to *Japan*, where at that time there was great freedom to all Nations to come and Trade, and for this reason he fixt himself there, and got employment under a very rich *Chineſe* Merchant, whom he ſerved with great fidelity and diligence in all his Concerns, and was very well approved of by his Maſter, who found him daily more and more intelligent in all things relating to Traffick, and ſo confided in him, that he ſent him with ſome Ships, and a great part of his Wealth entruſted to his care, to Trade in the Kingdoms of *Cochinchine* and *Cambaye*: *Jaſpar* acquited himſelf ſo well of his employment, that he returned with great profit to his Maſter, and much credit to himſelf. Afterwards he ſo improved the repute and opinion which his Maſter and ſeveral other rich Merchants had of his capacity and fidelity, that many of them did gladly entruſt him with the greateſt part of their Stock. Once he went from *Japan* to *Cambaye* with two Ships laden with very rich Mer-

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chandise, the Factorship of which was commissionated to him by his Master and several other Merchants. He arrived safely at *Cambaye*, and as he was busied in unlading and disposing of his Merchandise, News was brought him that his Master and all or the greatest part of those by whom he was employed, were dead of the Plague, which that year raged terribly in *Japan*, and followed after a Famine, which had much afflicted and desolated the whole Countrey.

Now was a fit season to verifie the proverb, which saith *Opportunity makes the Thief*; and a more favourable one *Jaspar* could not wish for. By profession he was a Christian, but he was not so sincere in his Religion as long to shew forth the works thereof, in observing the Eighth Commandment. At length he grew weary of having been true and faithful to those who confided in him. And now had he a very seasonable occasion to practise *Machiavel*'s Maxim, which saith, *That he had best be a long time a good and an honest man, who*

would be a good time a Cheat and a Knave; that is to say, he that would long gain by fraud and deceit, must first gain Credit and Repute by a long shew of Truth and Integrity; *Icoan* therefore now forges a Will for his Master and the other Merchants by whom he was employ'd, and therein he declares himself sole Heir of all the Lading of those two Vessels: And yet he pretended not to forsake the Law of God, or to renounce the Christian Religion; for he was willing to perswade himself that the true Heirs of these Merchants ought in Conscience, for a reward to his Services, to let him enjoy all that he was then possessed of at *Cambaye*; and there it was easie for him thus to clear his Accounts. But it would be more difficult for him to accompt with the *Mandorins* of *China*, who are more exact in taking Accompts for the Dead than for the Living; for these Lordly *Mandorins* make themselves the Executors of the Wills of all dead persons, that thereby they may make themselves their Heirs.

Heirs. They observe great Formalities of Justice, out of pretence to prevent all Frauds which might be imposed upon lawful Heirs; but in reality, it is only thereby to advantage themselves. *Jaspar*, who understood very well the Customs of his Countrey, judged he should be much perplexed there, in making up his Accompts; for the *Mandorins* had very exactly informed themselves of all the particulars with which he had been commissionated; and therefore seeing his Life and Fortune in such eminent danger, he thought that the best course he could take was that if he must die like a Thief, not to let it be for his first Theft, nor like a common Rogue; since he knew how to advance his Fortune, and make himself the General of the Thieves. The principles of the Christian Religion in which he had been instructed, might something disturb his mind in these courses: But by Thieving he enriched himself; & by restitution he impoverished himself; & besides, he was likely to meet with great vexation in accompt-

ing with the *Mandorins* of *China*; therefore he judg'd, the most expeditious way of freeing himself from the vexatious trouble of making up his Accompts in this world; was to reserve these matters till he should make up his Reckonings for all in the next. Thus as for Religion, *Icoan* did not much trouble his thoughts, which were now wholly employ'd in contriving how to secure & advance his Fortune; for which the readiest and surest way, he thought, was to turn Pyrate.

Icoan, by the Sale of these Goods and Merchandizes, of all which he had now made himself the proprietary and Master, raised so considerable a sum, that therewith he purchased several Ships, and raised a little Naval Army; and now he had made himself Commander in chief of such a Squadron as might make the *Mandorins* of *China* have no great mind to come and call him to accompt. But out he puts to Sea, and in a short time meets with so many successful Adventures, that (as the Relation saith) the *Barbarossa's* and other eminent

eminent *Corſairs* could not come in compariſon with this famous Pyrate. The Name of *Icoan* was as much fam'd as fear'd; and he was not leſs valiant than crafty and ſubtil. But above all, he ſhewed himſelf moſt liberal when any prize was to be ſhared. The Fame and Renown he hereby purchaſed, encreaſed daily the number of his Followers: All perſons who were either deſperate in their Eſtates and Fortunes or of ſuch looſe principles as himſelf, crowded into his party. Thus the number of his Ships ſo encreaſed, that at laſt he made himſelf Admiral of a very conſiderable Navy.

Icoan doth no longer now content himſelf to prey upon private Veſſels, but not doubting of Succeſs, he hath the audacity to go and fight the whole *Chineſe* Fleet, aſſoon as he was informed it was preparing to come in purſuit after him. Several other *Corſairs* had divers times been roving about thoſe Seas, but either they never kept out at Sea, but whilſt the King's Ships were in Harbour, and neglected to ſcowre

the Seas, or else it was not long before they were surprized and seized upon by those who were encouraged thereto by the great reward which the King promised to any who should bring in the Heads of these Pyrates. Nay, it sometimes happened that these Rogues destroyed one another; as he was who came against *Icoan*. But this Fellow carried himself so cautiously, managed all things with so excellent an order, and was so punctually observed and obeyed by all his Followers, that he was not to be surmounted either by Force or Stratagem. Thus he became Master of all the Seas upon the Coast of *China*. But he did not stop here, but that his Souldiers might not be idle for want of Employment, he landed, and made Invasions upon the most rich Provinces; pillaged and sacked the people, desolated the Countrey where-ever he came, neither did he meet with any remarkable opposition against his great Forces, which were then so numerous, that he was able to put out to Sea a thousand Vessels. What can

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we attribute all this to, but meer Fortune? *Icoan* was but yesterday a small Officer to a poor Handicrafts-man, and to day is Soveraign of the Seas, the Dread and Terrour of people and Provinces. The King, or rather the Kings of *China*, for this *Corsair* upheld his power under the Reign of several Kings, were fully informed of all which passed upon the Coasts; but it was no easie matter to undertake the suppression of *Icoan*. And there were very few who had so much Courage as to venture near his Squadrons; for his Ships were so well furnished with excellent Cannon, and he had aboard them so many bold desperate Fellows, and so great plenty of all sorts of Arms and Fire-works, that there was no body who had any mind to go in chase of him.

The King, who searched out all possible means to put a period to the Rapine and Violence of this *Corsair*, at last thought of a very pretty way to suppress him, and this was by a stratagem, which was both Warlike and Po-

litick; but it had not the ſucceſs which was hoped it might. The Fortunate Deſtiny of *Icoan* prevailed as well againſt the policy as power of his Enemies. There was at the ſame time a great rumour in the Kings Court of another Pyrate who roved about the Coaſts of ſome of the Provinces, and behaved himſelf with that reſolution, that he likewiſe was looked upon as invincible. There happened ſome Interviews between theſe two Pyrates, and they agreed together not to oppoſe or undertake any thing one againſt the other; and by this League they ſupported themſelves. The King therefore purpoſed, and did really write to each of them, giving ſtrict charge that his Letters ſhould be delivered to them both at the ſame inſtant of time, and with great ſecrecy, ſo that one of them when he received his Letter, might not know that the other had been ſent to upon the ſame account.

The purport of the King's Letters to each of theſe *Corſairs* was to this effect; That being informed of his Valour,

lour, he was desirous to make use of his Service in an Affair of high importance to the good and welfare of his State; and therefore offered *Icoan* a General Pardon and Indemnity for all that was past, and to acquit him from the restitution of any thing of which he had been possessed of, appertaining either to the King or to any private person whosoever: And that he would not only receive him into grace, but make him High Admiral or Captain General of all the Sea Coasts, give him the Office of Great *Mandorin*, and abundantly shower upon him his Favours and Rewards. But to merit these Graces, he commanded him with all speed with his whole Fleet to attaque the other Pirate, who disputed his soveraignty over the Seas; and therefore it highly concerned him not to suffer any longer such an Enemy to his State; and that *Icoan* was the person he had made choice of to quell and suppress so eminent a Pirate.

The Letter which the King writ to the other Corsair was to the same effect;

effect; That he might receive him into Grace, &c. he enjoyned him to go, assault and defeat *Icoan*.

This Stratagem of the King was highly approved of, and it was imagined that the issue thereof would have been of great importance to the publick welfare; for in all likelihood each of these Pirates would with great joy have received these Proposals, and should these so powerful Fleets engage each other, it was expected that either they should ruine themselves, or if one should gain the Victory, yet in the Conflict he should have been so shattered and torn, that the Navy Royal which was setting forth upon this occasion, finding him in that condition, might with ease defeat and vanquish him, and thus entirely compleat the destruction of both these Pyrates.

It is not known what operation the King's Letter had upon the inclinations of the other *Corsair*, the Competitor of *Icoan*; but as for him, he very readily entertained these fair propositions; and whatsoever the Design of them might

might be, yet hereby he saw an honourable way (which he so ambitiously desired) laid open to him to dissentangle himself from the toils and turmoyles of the Sea, and the perils in which he was involved, and from which it is very difficult for any man, pursued by a powerful King, long to secure himself, And should any disaster happen to him: by giving obedience to these Orders, he knew that his endeavour faithfully to serve his Prince, would Crown his Misfortune with honour. But should he gain the Success he hoped for, he should thereby elevate his power higher than ever, make himself glorious in his own Countrey, and free himself from the fear of being called to an Accompt by the *Mandorins*.

See now *Icoan* transformed into a Loyal Subject to his Prince, upon the Reception of his Letter and Commission, which did as much blemish the Fame of the King, as it did illustrate the renown and glory of the Pyrate, who to be received into the Grace and Favour of his Prince, was only to destroy

stroy his great Adversary, which did import his private concern as much as the publick; for there being then none left who could contend with him at Sea, or disturb him in his Enterprize, he knew he should have it in his power to make himself feared and beloved by whom he pleased.

Thus this *Corsair* was sure to make his advantage every ways, but mistrusting, as he had reason, that he with whom he was to engage, might have received the like Order; for this is the usual practise of the Polititians of *China*, and therefore their Countreymen are the less surprized with it; he judged by delay he should endanger his Succes, and therefore resolved with all expedition to put his Design in execution, and at the very instant issued out all convenient Orders to his whole Fleet, and immediately went in search of his Enemy.

Icoan knew that his whole Fortune depended upon the Succes of this Expedition; therefore he omitted nothing which was expedient to be done. After he

he had visited all his Ships, seen that they were very tight and trim, his Canons right pointed, his men in good order, and in general had put all things in a readiness for Battel, he went and faced his Enemy, who likewise had drawn together all his Force, without all doubt upon the same Design, but had been more remiss and delatory in making his preparation; and yet he fitted himself for fight as well as the diligence and eagerness of his Enemy would give him leisure, who pent him in so close, that he would not give him liberty to make out to Sea, but charged and assaulted him with all the fierceness and violence imaginable.

Nothing could be added to the Valour and Conduct with which *Icoan* managed the whole Battel, in which he shewed a Courage and Judgment worthy of an excellent Commander. The Victory was long disputed between both parties, and with all the Valour and great Exploits which can be imagined; and doubtless that which is said of the Combats of Pyrates, that they make

make a great noise with their Guns, only waste their powder, and do no great Execution, held not true here; for most certainly this was a very bloody Fight, in which two fierce and stout Pyrates did most obstinately resolve neither to give nor take Quarter, but either to conquer or to die; but the Success, or rather the Courage and Conduct of *Icoan* quickly gained him the Victory; which he secured by leaping into his Enemies Ship, and with his own hand killing him, and cutting off his head, and thereby quickly put an end to the Battel, in which the Victor's Ships were so little endammaged or disordered, that they were ready for a fresh Fight; as for those who had taken part with his Enemy, and escaped the Fire and Water, they presently struck Sail and submitted to the Victorious *Icoan*; nay, they immediately sided with him, for they were persons, who though they had changed their Master, yet they changed neither their Quality nor Condition. Thus *Icoan* encreas'd both the number of his men

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and Ships, and his Fame likewise, and thereby became after the victory both much more powerful and formidable. Then even presently he issued out fresh Orders to all his men to be in a readiness to receive the Kings Fleet, should they make any Attempt upon him.

But this great Success and Conduct of *Icoan* had frustrated all the Designs of the *Chinese* Court. He was more potent than ever, and consequently more to be feared: He never yet had so gallant an Army, nor so numerous a Fleet under his Command. So that the Kings Ships which came in search after him, with design to have fought him, imagining to have found him half conquered already, when they had made up nearer to him, and discovered in what condition he was in, pretended now they came with a quite different Design. They came not now to assault *Icoan*, but to congratulate and give him joy of his Victory. This subtil *Corsair*, who was perfectly well vers'd in the Art of Dissimulation, did conceal his distrust, and made no shew as

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if he had prepared to receive them as his Enemies, but made to the Shore, and when he was Landed, he went and presented to the Viceroy the King's Letter, wherein he gave him assurance of those great Recompences if he freed the State from that Pyrate, whom he had defeated, and whose Head he then delivered to the Viceroy, shewing him the Ships he had taken, and the men who had delivered themselves up to his Mercy. The Viceroys could not refuse *Icoan* the Honours and Dignities he laid claim to, since he had so express a promise of them from the King their Master. He presently therefore took possession of the High Admiralship, and being back'd and supported with so many powerful Forces, which made him so dreaded, he resolves to maintain himself in that Office.

Thus is the Grandeur and Fortune of this Pirate now firmly established: He is now rich and powerful, a most Illustrious Person, and highly considered of by the people: Of a great

Thief

Thief, he is now become the great *Mandorin* of all *China*; but it is true, in that Countrey *Thief* and *Mandorin* differ only in Name: But he is not now feared as he was before; but on the contrary, he is loved and honoured by all the Provinces; for he promiſes them in recompenſe of the Miſchiefs he had brought upon them, to make them flouriſh in wealth and proſperity.

He now begins to make the Seas open and free for Trade and Commerce. It was not very difficult for him to ſcowre the Coaſts, and to clear the Seas of all Pyrates; for which he need only with his Followers quit the Seas, and ſtay aſhore; for all the *Corſairs* which uſed to rove about and ravage thoſe Coaſts, had liſted themſelves in his Squadrons, and were under his Command; but *Icoan* and his Followers were too much allured with a Pyrates Life, not to put out to Sea again with all ſpeed. The difference between his former being at Sea, and his preſent, is only this, that now he robs with the Kings Flag, and under the pretext of

his Authority. There are in all parts of the world honourable Thieves and Robbers, who rob and steal with Royal Authority; but *Icoan* robbed the King himself, and that with greater audacity than he plundered private persons. There were no Vessels which went out of *China* laden with Merchandizes for the Neighbouring Kingdoms, but he made pay their whole Duties to him; nay, and more than their Duties. And as if *Icoan* had been King, the Merchants took all their Pasports from him, & esteemed of them much more than they did of those from the King. Thus the Commerce of *China* availed this Officer much more than it did the King himself; and besides all this, he laded several Vessels for *Japan* and the *Philippines*, with the richest Merchandizes of all *China*, which he had either plundered, or bought at his own price: And this Traffick brought him in yearly Millions of Silver; so that in his Palaces he had several Halls and other Rooms covered over with Plates of Silver, which was become as common

common with him as the moſt ordinary Materials.

The King of *China* was highly diſpleaſed that his deſign to deſtroy this Pyrate, ſhould ſucceed ſo contrary to his expectation; for he ſaw that inſtead of having ruined and deſtroyed him, he had confirmed him in his authority, and made his power more dreaded than ever; and therefore now all his Contrivance was how to draw him from the Sea, and the beſt way of doing this, he thought was by employing him againſt the *Tartars*, who then made Incurſions upon the Frontiers of *China*; for this end he declared him General of his Armies, and ſent him Commiſſions to levie new Troops in thoſe Provinces where he was already Captain General of the Coaſts.

He cauſed likewiſe ſeveral great and conſiderable ſums of Money to be delivered to him for the payment and ſubſiſtance of his Army: But the intentions and deſignes of the Court were only hereby abſolutely to cut off the Tyrant, either by cauſing him to

be destroyed by the *Tartars*, or else by seizing and arraigning him when he should be further advanced into the Countrey, where they might more easily secure his person.

Icoan very readily obeyed the Kings Orders, but he was too clear-sighted not to see through all this policy, and too subtil not to evade it, and turn it to his own advantage. He delivered out his Commissions, called together all his Troops, and appointed his Field-Officers, and began to march into the Field. But all this time he had laid a Contrivance with his Friends and Confidents, that when he was upon his March, they should in all parts give an Alarm, and should publickly come and inform him that several *Dutchmen* and other enemies to the State of *China* did rove about, and ravage the Sea-Coasts, the Guard of which was committed to his care. *Icoan* upon the advice hereof made a shew of much trouble and concern, and seemed very much perplexed. He instantly sent advice upon advice, to acquaint the King

King with all that had paſſed upon the Coaſts. At laſt he remitted the management of the war againſt the *Tartars* to his Lieutenant-Generals, and he himſelf preſently put out to Sea, to go in chaſe of theſe Pyrates which had made ſuch havock upon the Coaſts. This was all the deſire and intention he had of approaching near the Court.

Icoan underſtood full well how all Affairs were there managed, and knew that the King did not of himſelf cauſe theſe Orders to be iſſued out; for it was not he that governed the State, but his Officers and Counſellors, and therefore conceived that it was they who had laid theſe deſignes againſt him, reſolving thereby to ruine him. Neither was he ignorant that the Vice-roys and the Kings Commiſſioners in the Provinces where he was, were ready upon all Ooccaſions to do him all the ill Offices they could, being inſtructed thereto by the Miniſters of State, who had likewiſe commiſſionated them to watch and obſerve him, and not to let ſlip any opportunity, whenever

time and place should give them any advantage against him; foreseeing therefore the vexations and trouble in which he should perpetually be involved by these persons, he apprehended that there was no other Expedient to free himself from so many Enemies, but to resolve to win them to his party, and to engage them in his Interests. This was not very difficult for him who was so well furnished with Money, with which he knew how to supply himself upon all occasions; for he need only lay new Taxes upon the Countrey: By this he knew he should open the mouths of the poor people whom he oppressed, and raise their Cries against him; but at the same time he should stop the mouths, and appease the clamours of those who sought to oppress him. This he thought was the best way to secure and advance himself; and this he resolved to put in practise, and did so successfully, that in a short time he was one of the chief Ministers of State. And there was no body hereafter at the Court that ever gave *Icoan* any disturbance,

ſturbance, but all perſons there were highly ſatisfied with him; for he failed not to ſupply them with Gold, Silver and Pearls, all which he came eaſily by.

The poor afflicted Provinces did inceſſantly make remonſtrance to the Court of the Grievances they ſuffered from *Icoan*; but his Gold, Pearls and Bribes had ſo ſtopped all paſſages into the Court, that their Complaints and Supplications could never reach the King. The Miniſters of State and Eunuchs of the Palace were ſo ſatisfied with the liberality of this *Corſair*, that now he never was mentioned at Court as a Pirate; but as a Loyal and Faithful Servant of his Prince; and all the diſcourſe there was of the eminent Exploits he had done, and the great Services he had rendred the State. It is a ſtrange thing, but it is incident to the Courts of all Princes, that Kings, who ought to be beſt informed of the ſtate and condition of their Subjects, know leſs than all other perſons the oppreſſion and deſolation of their Pro-

vinces. Thus the people without any relief or remedy groaned under the extortion of this Tyrant; for so far was the King from relieving them, that he was utterly ignorant both of their Afflictions and Complaints. It was not to be expected that the Ministers of State or Counsellors to the King should acquaint him with the oppression of his Subjects, since thereby they reaped so great profit to themselves, and being that *Icoan* now robbed and plundered for them, they encouraged him to rob and plunder the people more boldly than ever. Thus are Kings served, and thus are Affairs governed. Those who have all their Livelihood and maintenance out of their Exchequers, are the persons who serve them least faithfully: They devour the Labour and Subsistance of the people, but matter not how their Master discharges himself of the care which he ought to take of the preservation of his Subjects.

CHAP. VII.

The Pyrate Icoan *made a Treaty with the* Hollanders. *His Quarrel with the* Portugueſes *of* Macao, *for refuſing to reſtore him his Daughter, which he had cauſed to be educated in the Chriſtian Religion. The* Tartar *ſollicits him to joyn with him. His Fidelity to the Princes of* China.

AFter that *Icoan* had rendered himſelf thus potent both by Sea and Land, he had a mind to make the *Hollanders*, who were in the Iſle *Formoſa*, ſtand in awe of him. This Iſle is the neareſt Land to the Province of *Fokien*, from whence it may eaſily be diſcovered when the Sky is clear. He began to menace the *Hollanders*, that he would drive them away, unleſs they retreated of their own accord. But it was not ſo eaſie to effect this as he imagined:

gined: All that lay in his power to do, was only to put a ſtop to their commerce with *China*, and this alone was to do them no ſmall injury; for this would exclude them from the greateſt profit and advantage which they made by their Trade to the *Indies*.

The *Hollanders*, ſhould they be deprived of Liberty to trade with *China*, would loſe a great part of their Treaſure; for they meet in no parts, no not in *Europe*, with ſo conſiderable Merchandize as the *Chineſe*, with which they traffick to *Japan* and other places, and in exchange thereof, receive preſent Money. At the firſt they vilified *Icoan's* prohibition, but they had quickly cauſe to repent them; for he burnt eight of their beſt Ships, three at one time, and five at another; of the loſs of which eight Veſſels the Intelligence was certain, and doubtleſs they loſt many more, but what or how many, we are not ſo well informed. The *Hollanders* perceived to their coſt, with how troubleſom and fierce an enemy they had

had to deal, and therefore they resolved to proceed in a new Method; for nothing could be gained of *Icoan* by force; but Money could do all things: And it is most true, that whoever is able to contend with Weapons of Gold and Silver, may the cheapest and least expensive way be victorious.

At last the *Hollanders* made their peace with *Icoan*, obliging themselves to pay him yearly, as a Tribute, about six or seven thousand pound sterling, and by this means they had free liberty to traffick and pass from *Formosa* to *China*. The Sum was not great in comparison of the grand advantage and profit which did accrue to them by this freedom of Commerce: Yet did their Money purchase them the Friendship of *Icoan* at so cheap a Rate. Afterwards the good Correspondency between them produced so firm a Friendship, that he was desirous to commit to them the care of his Sons Education, and sent him to them to *Jacatra*, of which they are possess'd in the *East-Indies*, that he might be instructed

ſtructed in the Politeneſs and Martial Diſcipline of *Europe*.

By the Sequel it will appear how much *Icoan* was eſteemed of by the *Hollanders*, who for ſeveral years before the War had uſed their utmoſt endeavors to obſtruct the *Portuguezes* of *Manila* in their Commerce with *China*; and to this intent, their Men of War did inceſſantly rove about thoſe Seas, and ſeized upon all the *Chineſe* Veſſels they met; but now if any Veſſel had a Paſport from *Icoan*, or was freighted with any Merchandize appertaining to him, they ſuffered it to paſs by with all freedom, though it was bound for their Enemies Countrey, and hereby did much prejudice their Trade; and all this they did ſolely out of conſideration to *Icoan*; for if they met with any other Veſſel, though it appertained immediately to the King of *China* himſelf, and was laden with his Houſhold-Goods, or any thing elſe which belonged to the very perſon of the Prince, it was not the leſs plundered, but all things were preſently ſeized upon,

on, and all the men who were found aboard, made Slaves. Thus *Icoan* by the *Hollanders* was looked upon as more King of *China* than the King himſelf.

But this Pyrate did not pretend to be leſs conſiderable upon the Land, and in the Provinces of *China*, than he was upon the Sea. The King was once in Arrears to him about the value of ſome five or ſix thouſand pound ſterling for his Penſion, which was placed upon the Royal Revenues of *Canton*. The King's Officers did not take care to give him ſatisfaction herein ſoon enough; he preſently came aſhore, accompanied only with five or ſix thouſand men, in whom he moſt confided, and though there was in the Town more than two hundred thouſand Inhabitants, yet there was no perſon ſo bold as to dare to deny him entrance. Neither did he commit any violence, but aſſoon as he was entred with his men, he cauſed a Tribunal to be erected in the midſt of the Town, and ſummoned all the Kings Officers and publick Notaries to appear

appear before him, made the Kings Officers pay him what was due, and acknowledged the Receipt thereof before the publick Notaries, then departed out of the Town, leaving all things very orderly and peaceably. These were the Courses which *Icoan* used to make himself be paid, even by the King of *China* himself.

Now as the *Hollanders* more considered the power of this Pyrate, than even of the King, so likewise hereafter they sent all their publick Embassies to *Icoan*, and not to the Court at *Pequin*; all Honours were paid, and all Presents were made solely to him; nay once they presented him with a Scepter and Crown of Gold, thereby to excite his Ambition to the Royalty; and that they might further engage him to take it upon him, they offered him the assistance of all their force and power: But as to this point, *Icoan* remained a very Loyal Subject to his Prince, which in the Sequel he further manifested; for he never made any ostentation of this Scepter and Crown, he caused it only

only to be put in his Wardrobe amongst his other Goods, and laid up as a present which he esteemed and valued, but not as a Royal Ornament, nor as an Enſign of his Grandeur and Dominion.

But a greater ſcandal to the dignity and perſon of the King was this, after *Icoan* had obtained his pardon, all the Armies and Troops which he Commanded were paid and maintained out of the Kings Exchequer, the King was at all the Charge and Expence, *Icoan* had all the honour and advantage. It was the Misfortune of *China* not to have had Miniſters of State more zealous of the Grandeur and Intereſt of their Soveraign. The Money of a Pirate had ſo corrupted them, that though they might have obſtructed the Commerce of the *Hollanders* in *Formoſa* with *China*, and thereby have obliged them to have received the permiſſion of the King rather than of a Pirate, yet there was nothing which they thought leſs of, than upon this occaſion to ſupport the Power and Majeſty of their

their Master. But these Officers did solely concern themselves for their private Interest, not at all for that of the State and their Prince. And this is not very extraordinary in all Courts of Kings, so that it may very well be said, that either Princes should be content not to Reign, or that they should make such use of their Authority, that those who should only execute their Orders, should be content, nay glad that their Master did solely Reign and Command.

I judge it now necessary to say something of a difference which happened between *Icoan* and the *Portugueses* of *Macao*. He had always made shew of an inclination and value for that Town, where he had lived when he was young, and when he did not so much as hope ever to have been raised to his present height. Now happened there a very remarkable Accident, which had likely to have induced him (as he threatned) to have fallen very foul upon the Inhabitants. The occasion was this: Being at *Japan* at the beginning

ning of his Riſe, he had there a Natural Daughter, which was then baptiz'd, and brought up in the Chriſtian Religion. The Chriſtians after being driven out of *Japan*, ſhe amongſt the reſt fled, and came to *Macao*, where ſhe was received by charitable perſons, who took care of her pious Education in the Exerciſes of the Chriſtian Religion. *Icoan* being now informed that his Daughter was at *Macao*, ſent to the *Portugueſes* to demand her as his Child. They conſidered that it was the Father who demanded his Child, but yet they did not think fit to reſtore him his Daughter, becauſe ſhe was a Chriſtian, and as for him, though he had been baptized in, and made profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith, yet he lived like an Infidel, and converſed with no others; but they were deſirous duly to examine and conſider of ſo weighty an affair; and for this intent, they called an Aſſembly of Eccleſiaſtical, and other pious perſons, who did conclude, that they ought not to reſtore the Child to its Father. Up-

on this *Icoan* menaced them most terribly, that he would come and besiege *Macao* with a Navy of five hundred or a thousand Ships, that he would fetch away his Daughter by force, ruine and extirpate all those who had retained her from him, and that from that very instant he would begin to reduce them to the extremity of Indigency and Necessity, by putting a stop to their Receipt of any provisions or Commodities from *China*: But for all his threats they did not restore him his Daughter, neither did God permit him to bring the mischief he intended upon that City.

It is not known what occasion did afterwards calm *Icoan*; but all persons were surprized, and did much wonder when they were informed that some time after a Vessel which was bound from *Macao* to *Japan*, being by storm driven upon the Coast of *China*, where *Icoan* was in person, that he should most courteously receive all the persons belonging to the Vessel, presently supply them with all Necessaries, and furnish

niſh them with paſports and all the ſafe-guards which they could deſire for their return into their own Countrey, and did not ſo much as offer to retain any perſon, to oblige thereby the *Portugueſes* to reſtore him his Daughter, which he did not ſo much as mention. That all *Icoan*'s rage terminated, and he never after gave any diſturbance to the Inhabitants of *Macao*.

The *Portugueſes*, who upon this occaſion had been ſo well received, obſerved that *Icoan* had a very curious Oratory, in which they remarked amongſt other things, the Statues of our Saviour and the Virgin *Mary*, and of divers other Saints; but it muſt not be imagined that theſe were any Marks of Chriſtian piety: It was only a teſtimony that thoſe of that Nation do eaſily approve of any ſort of Religion; for not being tied to believe a Unity in the Deity, they do indifferently receive a multitude of falſe Gods, neither do they fix the number of them, but leave all perſons free to adore fewer or more at pleaſure. Thus ſince

they are so indifferent as to Religion, and any seems to them good enough, they scruple not amongst their *Pagods* or Idols, to place the Images of Saints, without making any distinction, or paying more or less honour to those of *Jesus Christ*, the Virgin *Mary*, and of other Saints, than to their own Idols. But they equally adore them all as their Gods, and this is the Sum of their Divinity. It is very credible, that though *Icoan* had been baptized, yet he was ignorant of the Principles of the Christian Faith; for the *Portuguezes* could never observe that he ever render'd more honour to *Jesus Christ* than he did to his Idols; neither did they perceive him to do the least action of a Christian, though then he was amongst the Christians, and then, if ever, it might well be expected he should shew at least some Sparks of his Christianity; but they did not remember to have heard him ever so much as speak either of the Gospels, Sacraments or Commandments either of God or his Church; and as for the manner of his Life,

Life, that was leſs Chriſtian; either this wretched man was ſo impious, or ſo ignorant, that he equally burnt Incenſe to *Jeſus Chriſt* and his Idols.

The *Portuguezes* having been thus obligingly received by this *Corſair*, and knowing how much it imported them to embrace his Friendſhip, they then commenced to treat with him in relation to their own Concerns as far as Prudence and their preſent Occaſions required. They had experience that he was a terrible Enemy, a crafty, ſubtil Thief, and very often too near a Neighbour to them: They thought likewiſe they were oblig'd to have ſome regard to him, becauſe he had formerly lived in their Town amongſt them; and therefore they made a Treaty with him upon very honourable terms, and after confided ſo far in him, as to entruſt him with their Merchandizes, to tranſport them in his Veſſels to *Japan*; for the *Portuguezes* were deprived of all liberty of commerce thither, by their Edicts, which did ſeverely pro-

hibit the admittance or entrance of any Christian into *Japan*.

Thus *Icoan* made great advantage with trading with the Inhabitants of *Macao*, not but that they were sensible what a peril they run; for they knew how great reason they had to suspect, that either this Pyrate, or those employed under him, might some time or other appropriate all the *Portugueze* Merchandizes to themselves, and be discharged with pretending only that they were either cast away, or else made prize by the *Corsairs*. And should such a Cheat as this be put upon them, they had no Remedy whereby to relieve themselves. But *Icoan* proceeded with so much honour, that the Merchants never perceived any of their goods to have been embezell'd with which they had entrusted him. They only observed that their Gain was less; from whence they concluded, that he contented himself only to be a sharer with them therein. But of this they acquit *Icoan*, believing, that it was only those he employed under

der him, that thus pilfered. All this they paſſed over, being deſirous to continue on their Trade, though it was with the leſs profit.

For ſeveral years together there was nothing ſpoke of but how powerful *Icoan* was both by Sea and Land: And certainly he deſerved to be numbered amongſt the other Tyrants of *China*; nay, even then when he paſſed for a very faithful ſervant to his King, becauſe he was ſo to the *Mandorins*; and his Gold and Silver prevailed ſo at Court, that there his Tyranny was never ſpoke of, but only the grand Services he had rendered the State. His Authority was ſo great, that he wanted nothing of being King or Emperour of all *China*, but the Title, which he did not judge convenient for his condition; for as he wanted not for prudence, he could not but know that the Title of King or Emperour would both render him odious, and ruine him in his Affairs; therefore he contented himſelf with having obtained from the Court the Dignity of *Gaucum*, which

is one of the greatest and chiefest of all *China*. It is true, that though he ever pretended to this Charge, yet he was not possessed of it, but under the Reign of the last Emperours of *China*, at such time as the *Tartars* had already conquered a great part of the Empire.

Having taken a view of the progress and height of the Fortune of this *Corsair*, it remains, that we should now observe what use he makes of it. The Relation gives large testimonies of the Fidelity which he did ever inviolably retain to the *Chinese* Princes of the Royal Family, which was such, that it might well have served for an example to the Grandees of that State. For when he was most potent, he did not only pay all due reverence to the Emperour's person, his Orders and Injunctions, but likewise ever highly respected all the Princes of the Blood Royal. If *Icoan* would have taken up Arms against his Prince, he was far more powerful than the Usurpers, *Cham* or *Ly*. So many men he had at his

his command, the vaſt Treaſure he was poſſeſſed of, did incomparably more capacitate him, either to begin or carry on any Enterprize of that Nature; but it may well be ſaid, that his Loyalty was greater than either his Forces or his Riches. Thus he did not only continue a faithful Subject to his King, but even after the death of *Zunchin*, and when the *Tartars* were already entred into *China*, inſtead of placing the Crown upon his own head, as he had then a fair opportunity, and as ſeveral others did; he on the contrary, ſeated upon the Imperial Throne that Prince whom we before mentioned to have been crowned in the Province of *Foquien*; and he it was who undertook his Defence and Support; and after that he had firmly engaged all his Forces by Sea and Land to ſerve that Prince, he came himſelf and conſtantly attended upon his perſon. *Icoan* might have employed all this Force in the conqueſt of a State and Monarchy for himſelf, or elſe he might highly have advanced himſelf by ſiding with the

the *Tartars*, and thereby might have secured his Fortune; for from the *Chineses* he needed then fear nothing: But his Duty to his Prince was dearer to him, than the security of his Fortune, nay than of his Life it self could be amongst the *Tartars*. He saw that he hazarded all by endeavouring to defend a Prince whom it would be very difficult to protect against so powerful Enemies; but probably he was ambitiously desirous of this occasion, to make himself as eminent by his Loyalty, as he had been by his Pyracy.

Icoan now prepared against all Attempts of the *Tartars*, resolving to attend them in the Province of *Foquien*, one of the three last of the whole Empire, which remained yet unconquered: Hither he had drawn his choicest Troops, which were composed of persons whose courage he had approved both by Sea and Land, and he Headed them with the Prince who was newly crowned Emperour of *China*. This Prince and *Icoan* were two the greatest

Obsta-

Obſtacles which the *Tartars* ever met with in their whole Conqueſt, which made them now to careſs and ſolicite *Iconan*, who before uſed only to brave and menace all perſons into a ſubmiſſion to their authority.

I was neceſſitated to make this Digreſſion, that I might diſcover what Force the *Chineſes* then had, and who this great Commander was, whoſe power it was hoped might have preſerved ſome part at leaſt of that Empire from the Invaſion of the *Tartars*.

But now I ſhall return back to the progreſs of the Victors, who after they had in the Year 1645. reduced to their ſubjection the City and Province of *Nanquin*, with the two other Neighbouring Provinces of *Schiamſi* and *Huguan*, and that the three other which bordered upon them, *Honam*, *Suchuen* and *Juana* had voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves, and all this in the ſpace of eight Moneths, the *Cham* of *Tartary*'s Unkle, who commanded his Armies, retreated to *Nanquin*, and there conſtituted a *Chineſe Mandorin* Viceroy; but

but still the Flame of the War was not quite quenched, but blazed out in all parts of the Empire, and therefore it was not the intention of this Prince only to pass away his Winter-Quarters at *Nanquin*, but to consult there the securing his present Conquest, and to contrive the most prudent way of reducing the three last Provinces. And there he concluded, that it would much advance his intended Expedition into these Provinces, if he could engage *Icoan* to side with the *Tartars*; and the best way of accomplishing this would be by intreaties and promises. To this intent he caused a Letter to be writ by the *Chinese* whom he had ordained Viceroy of *Nanquin* to *Icoan*, who had a great value and esteem for that person.

The *Mandorin* wrote in his own Name, and as it were to a Friend, to whom he judged himself obliged by the Bond of Friendship, to send advice of this Importance; but it was well known that he only did it by the express Order of the *Tartar*. The Sub-

Subject of the Letter was to let him know, *That he would inevitably ruine himself and his Affairs by endeavouring to oppose the Triumphant Victors; and that if he would repose any Credit in him, he should without any hesitation or delay deliver up those three Provinces to the* Tartars; *That he engaged to him his word, and promis'd him all the assurance he could desire, that this Prince would constitute him Viceroy of* Foquien *and* Canton; *or rather that he would make him Soveraign and King thereof, if he would only acknowledge that he held that State from the Emperour of* Tartary. It is most certain, the Soveraign of those two Provinces would have been no small King; for they are as spatious as all *Spain*, and the most wealthy of all *China*. And as to *Icoan*, these Countries did more suit his Concerns, than any other, since all his Force and Wealth was there.

Icoan by his Answer to this *Mandorin*, gave him to understand the Loyalty he resolved ever to retain to his lawful Prince. He sent him word, *That he*

he was not so credulous as to intrust himself in the hands of such Thieves; nor so treacherous as to betray his Countrey to such Tyrants: That he was so far from delivering up those Provinces, whose protection and defence he had undertaken: That he was most stedfastly resolved to employ the Remainder of his Life, and all his power and wealth to drive these Usurpers out of China: *That this was his Design, and that he should find he would lose no time, nor omit any thing necessary for the Execution thereof.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Icoan *demands Succour from the Emperour of* Japan, *who refuſes it him. He maintains a War againſt the* Tartars *a whole year. He is taken Priſoner, and preſented to the Emperour* Xunchi. *What was the end of this* Corſair.

ICoan underſtood very well what it concern'd him to do after the Anſwer he had returned to the Viceroy of *Nanquin*. He expected that all the Fury and Might of a triumphant Enemy ſhould preſently thunder upon him; he therefore muſtered up all his forces, and prepared to receive the Aſſaults of his Enemies. And that he might not be negligent in any thing, he judged it convenient to ſend an Embaſſie to the Emperor of *Japan*, to demand Succour from him: He conjur'd this Prince that

that he would please to send over some of his Troops into *China*, upon whose Valour he could more relie than upon his *Chinese* Souldiery.

The Emperour of *Japan*, like the Princes of *China*, is wholly buried in Luxury. If ever he goes abroad either to hunt or course, it is alwaies in a Sedan or Litter, where he is, as it were shut up in a Crystal Cage; he pretends, that it is thereby to command the greater respect and veneration from his Subjects, not that he is affraid to be seen. The Answer which this Prince returned to *Icoan*'s Embassadors, was this; *That his Highness never treated, but with Kings his Equals. That if* Zunchin *the Lawful Soveraign of* China *had asked Aid from him when his Occasions required it, he should have sent a considerable number of his best Souldiers to his Relief: That he should have been as readily disposed to have done the like, had any Prince his Legitimate Successors demanded Succour from him; but upon the importunity of any particular person he could not grant it: That his weighty*

Councils

Councils were taken up with the Conſiderations of the Affairs of Kings, and that they well merited the Addreſſes of Kings.

The Anſwer of the Emperour of *Japan* was not ſo unreaſonable; but *Icoan* did not expect that he would have ſo much ſtood upon his Grandeur with him, and was not inclinable to make uſe of any other Applications, leſt thereby he ſhould debaſe himſelf in the eſteem of the Grandees of his Court. He pretended that he ought to be conſidered as the pillar and ſupport of the Empire of *China*, and that he might well take upon him thus to ſpeak in the name of the whole State at that time, when he was, as it were, the Life and Soul of it: Therefore he reſolved to have no more to do with the Emperour of *Japan*; and all his thoughts were now wholly buſied to put thoſe Forces he had at home, in readineſs to receive the *Tartars*.

Who when they had underſtood the reſolution of *Icoan*, ſaw that it con-

them to loſe no time, but with all expedition to puſh on their Victory; in the carrying on of which, it was neceſſary for them to employ prudence, as well as force. In the firſt place therefore, they judged it convenient to take care, better to ſecure to themſelves the City of *Nanquin*: And this they did by conſtituting a Superior Authority to that of the *Mandorin*, who was Viceroy, ordering the *Cham's* Unkle, who had conquered theſe ſix Provinces, to reſide with his whole Court in that City. And that he might appear with greater Luſtre, and be more abſolute, they gave him the Title of King. Thus the City of *Nanquin*, which had been formerly the Court and Reſidence of the Kings of *China*, returns now to the Court of a *Tartarian* King: But yet it never appeared that this Prince, who had the title of King, had greater Authority than if he had been only Viceroy; and perhaps there was ſome Miſtake in the Relation, and that really he was only Viceroy. The Sequel will clear this Point,

Point, which to me seems considerable.

The Council of State to the young *Xunchi*, did do two things of great importance, by the establishment of this Prince at *Nanquin*: The first was by limiting the great power of the *Chinese Mandorin*, who was a very subtil and able Statesman. The second was, by constituting the *Cham*'s Unkle King in this great City, they did thereby honourably withdraw him from the Command of the Army, that he might remit to a new Commander the conquest of the three last Provinces. They knew that the War which they were now entring upon, was more rough and difficult than any they had been yet engaged in: Therefore though this Prince was valiant and successful, yet because there was a younger Unkle to the *Cham*, called *Pelipaouan*, who was more considerable in the Army, and more knowing in Martial Affairs, they judged it very important to empower this latter with the Command in chief of the Army. I could not learn the

Name of the *Cham's* Unkle first here mentioned; but as for this *Pelipaonan*, he was a great Hero amongst the *Tartars*, who did unanimously declare, that the Emperour his Nephew ought to acknowledge the conquest of *China* to his Valour and Prudence. He it was who was chiefly employed to inspire Valour into the young Emperour, and to animate him to these great Enterprizes. By the *Tartars* he was stiled the Conquerour of *China*; which Title he thought he had well merited by the share he had in the Conquest. To this *Pelipaonan* was committed the remaining Expedition, that is to say, the Reduction of the 3 last Provinces, in which the War was likely to be more rough than it had been in the others; both because the Countrey was very Mountainous, and there was likewise a powerful Army of experienced Souldiers fully resolved to make a resolute Defence.

The Prince did with great joy receive his Commission and Instructions. As there was nothing he desired more passionately

passionately than to answer and maintain the Fame of his Valour, so nothing so much satisfied him as to see that he was made choice of to carry on the conquest there where the Victory was most difficult: And as for all the difficulties and obstacles, he only made a sport of them.

In the beginning of the year 1646 he marched into the Field at the head of an Army of two hundred thousand men, all choice Souldiers; for there was an emulation amongst all the Troops who should serve under this Prince. He had fifty thousand Horse, and a hundred and fifty thousand Foot. He had a Train of Artillery of five hundred peeces of Ordnance, with a suitable proportion of Ammunition, and all other provisions for so great an Enterprize. Amongst several Armies of the *Tartars*, which had ravaged the State of *China*, there had been many as numerous, but never any composed of such choice and stout men as those whom *Pelipaouan* commanded; and it concerned the *Tartars* now to

employ his best men. As for the number of men which the Emperour of *China* and General *Icoan* had under their command, it is not certainly known: But without all scruple there was in those Provinces above a Million of armed men, those who were at Sea, not being included in the number; for besides the old standing Troops, and the Souldiery which appertained to *Icoan* in particular, there was an incredible number of men retired thither out of the other Provinces.

Pelipaouan entred first into the province of *Foquien*, where he expected to meet with the greatest Obstacles in the narrow passages of the Mountains. The Prince who had been there crowned, had for six Moneths enjoyed the splendid Grandeur of his Royalty; *Icoan* the General of his Armies, was likewise there attending on him with his choicest Troops. Both the Armies quickly joyned and engaged. The numbers and the particularities of the Combats and Battels which were then fought, are not remarked in the Relation:

tion: But both parties being more than ordinarily animated againſt each other, it is eaſie to imagine that there were many eminent Exploits performed on each ſide. *Pelipaouan* ſpent a whole year in ſubduing this province: He was confirmed that he had not done amiſs in having ſo briſkly begun the War whilſt his men were freſh and in their firſt heat.

It was a very bold Attempt, and might ſeem even preſumptuous that this General ſhould at the firſt enter into this Countrey, where he knew they were beſt prepared to defend themſelves: But the conſequence manifeſted that he had reaſon ſo to do. The Cities and Strong places of this province did not of their own accord open their Gates, as in other parts. They all reſiſted againſt the fierce aſſaults of the *Tartars*, and never yielded, till thereby they were ſo debilitated, they could make no longer reſiſtance. Notwithſtanding all the diligent inquiſition I have made, I could never be particularly informed what *Icoan* did; only

in general I have learn'd that he was present in all eminent Enterprizes, and never turn'd his back to his Enemies; but at last he fell unfortunately into their hands, and was made a prisoner of War; but whether he was taken in a Battel, or in the defence of some place, I cannot tell: But most certain it is, he never quit his station, nor delivered himself up into his Enemies hands, whom he had offended so outragiously, till he had for a long time fought most manfully.

All things were now easie to the *Tartars* after they seized upon *Icoan*. There was nothing of any great importance remained to be done in that province, but to possess themselves of the person of the King; and this they did in a short time after; and as the Relation saith, presently put him to death; yet by the following Narrative he seems to have defended himself a considerable time; but as to this particularity, it shall be cleared in its due place.

As for *Icoan*, they thought it convenient

nient to ſpare his life, that they might preſent him to the Emperour *Xunchi*. From henceforth we ſhall ſee nothing but the Diſgraces and Misfortunes of this perſon, who had ſo long been the Favourite of Fortune; he that for ſo long a time had as it were, been intoxicated with proſperities, ſhall hereafter ſee the frailty and deceitfulneſs of Fortune. But though *Icoan* was caſt down in his Fortune, yet he was not dejected in his ſpirits; his Chains and Impriſonment had not abated his fierceneſs and courage; he ſeemed to ſhew a very great animoſity againſt the *Chineſes*, and therefore he preſently put himſelf into the *Tartarian* Garb, and cauſed his Hair to be cut, and with this new face he went with his old boldneſs, as if he ſtill had ſeveral Armies at his command, to preſent himſelf to the Victor, and to deſire him to employ in his Service him, and all the Souldiers which he pretended yet to have at his diſpoſal both by Sea and Land. See what the audacity and fidelity of a Pyrate can do! *Icoan* hath now

now neither Prince nor Countrey left; but methinks this confidence to dare to make these proffers to his Conquerour of what he had dispossessed him, and at the same time as he was his prisoner, was not very seasonable. If he would not appear more constant and faithful to his Countrey, at the least he should have shewed himself more subtil and prudent in Timeing these proposals more advantageously to himself.

The *Tartar* did not reject these proffers of *Icoan*: He had occasion for Ships & Seamen to reduce the two other provinces: And it was not so easie for him quickly to be furnished with Sea-stores and Naval provisions requisite for a Fleet, unless *Icoan* did at least intereſt himself in calming and gaining to the *Tartarian* Service those persons who had served under him, and were most horribly averse to the *Tartars*, who had dispoyled him of all his Goods and Treasury, unless what he had hid, and they could not find. After they sent him prisoner to *Nanquin*, where the *Cham*'s Unkle then was; and some time after

after he was conducted to *Pequin*, and presented to the young *Xunchi*.

Assoon as *Icoan* was brought before the Prince, he failed not to take notice to him of the Answer he had returned to the *Mandorin* who writ to him from *Nanquin*. He repeated to him the injurious terms with which he had spoke of the *Tartars*, how he called them Thieves and Tyrants. In truth, they did not object to him as so great a crime that he had engaged himself with all his might in the defence and maintenance of the King who had been Crowned in the province of *Foquien*. They judged that his Loyalty to his King and Countrey extorted this duty from him; and the young *Xunchi*, how much soever he was exasperated against *Icoan*, could not but readily acknowledge, that however Treason may please, it always makes the Traitors odious; and on the contrary, though Loyalty be never desired to be very eminent in Enemies, yet it alwayes renders their persons the more estimable.

Icoan,

Icoan, when he saw how vehemently the *Tartars* urged his Letter against him, boldly denied that ever it came from him; he positively averred, he never wrote it, nor any thing like it; and that it was a forged piece, produced by his enemies, to blacken him in the opinion of that Court, thereby to consummate his Ruine.

From this they passed to another Head of his Accusation, in which they pretended he was guilty of High Treason, in having by his Authority opened Silver Mines, and compelled by violence the people to work in them.

Icoan maintained he never opened any Mines of Silver, and declared that what Silver he had was so far from having been taken out of the Mines in *China*, without the Emperour's permission, that on the contrary, it came out of the Possessions of the King of *Spain*, and out of the Territories of the King of *Japan*, with the leave of those Princes. And at the very instant he confuted those who objected this crime against him. Certain it is that the

the greateſt quantity of Silver he had, came to him (as he ſaid) partly out of *Japan*, by the way of *Nargaſaque*; partly from *Mexico* and *Peru*, out of the Mines of the King of *Spain*, by the Veſſels of *Manila*.

After he had cleared himſelf as well as he could from the moſt weighty accuſations, there was produced againſt him a great number of Informations and Complaints of ſeveral Grievances, with which he had oppreſſed the provinces: And that which is very ſtrange, thoſe very perſons who preſented theſe Accuſations againſt him, were the ſame Officers of the late Emperors of *China*, who after *Icoan* had gained them by his Bribes, had retained them, and impeded their preſentment to the Emperour. Theſe Traitors were ſo impudent as to produce before the *Tartar* thoſe very Papers which evidenced their having ſold themſelves to *Icoan*; and becauſe they ſold their perfidiouſneſs at ſo dear a Rate, that thereby they obliged him to grate and pole the provinces, they attempted to cauſe him to

be

be punished, because he did for their profit and advantage pillage these very provinces. None surely but the Kings of *China* could have such Officers. From hence the *Tartar* might infer how Loyal they were likely to be to a Forreign Prince, who had so often betrayed their lawful Master, and a Prince of their own Nation. How are such Kings and such States to be bemoaned! And how are those people to be lamented who have not wherewith to purchase the favour of those who have so great credit with such great Princes!

As for *Icoan*, he had yet left him wherewithal to gratifie the Avarice of those who imagined there was nothing more to be expected from him: He had hidden Treasures, which were not yet discovered; and whether he was or he was not criminal, he knew nothing could give a better gloss to his Affairs, and therefore he judged that he must resolve to pay new Contributions to his Accusers: And now he applies him to re-purchase the favour of those

those same Officers whom the Policy and Mildness of the *Tartarian* Government had continued in their Charges and Offices. By these means all his Accusations fell to the ground, and he appeared innocent in proportion as he distributed his Money & Presents. Now Witnesses were produced, who gave in evidence for his justification; and all that was ever alledged against him, was only false suppositions and black calumnies. Thus *Icoan*, by declaring himself liberal, was declared innocent, dismissed and fully discharged. This was the Justice which this Pyrate's money obtained him from the *Chinese* Justices and Magistrates.

Icoan was not only cleared, but continued in his Charge of *Gaucum*. But it is probable this was no longer than his Money and Bounty lasted; for when that failed, he must expect to be deprived both of his Office and his Life.

The *Tartar* knew what he had to do, when he found it was no longer his advantage to let live so declared an Enemy,

my, and one who had treated him so disgracefully. *Icoan* dissembled with all the Art he could possibly; but it was manifest to all, that he was stripped at once of a great power and vast riches. As for the Charge which remained to him, it was only a Name and Title, which conferred some honour upon him but nothing else. And besides, his presence grew daily more and more insupportable to those who not only perceived there was little left to be racked from him, but most earnestly longed to be rid of such a person who could so authentickly and clearly evidence their Extortions. Thus the unfortuate *Icoan* was on all sides in danger of his Life, unless, as some have believed, he was already cut off by the Stratagems of so many Enemies. This Pyrate who had been so successful in the former part of his Life, now saw that his misery was reserved for his latter days. This Apostate of the Christian Religion, this Tyrant and Oppressor of so many people and provinces, went now to accompt for all his Villa-

Villanies; yet as the height of his Fortune created Jealousie and Envy in all those who were Spectators of his Advancement, so his Fall cannot but move the compassion of all who shall cast their eyes on the precipice.

It may well be said that the *Tartars*, when they had subdued the province of *Foquien*, thereby made themselves absolute Masters of the entire Empire of *China*; for though they had not as yet entred into the provinces of *Canton* and *Quansi*, yet there they met with so few Obstacles to their Victory, that this Expedition did not much perplex them.

The Emperour *Xunchi* presently sent several Grandees of his Court to congratulate with his Unkle *Pelipaouan* for his having reduced that province, and taken prisoner the General *Icoan*, which he apprehended to be the most considerable Enterprize. And at the same time he constituted him Viceroy of these last provinces. This makes it credible that he never gave

the Title of King to his other Unkle, who resided at *Nanqnin*; for it is not probable, that that Prince who neither had the Merits nor excellent Endowments of *Pelipaouan*, should be made King of six provinces, and he who was stiled the Conquerour of *China*, and much more considered of at the Court, should only be Viceroy of three. Neither is it rational to believe that this young Prince should be willing to share out his new Monarchy, or to suffer any to be partners with him in his Royal Dignity, lest thereby they should grow so powerful as to contend with him for the whole. It is most true, that the ambition of Reigning will not admit of partnership; no not upon the consideration of Kindred or Affinity. *Remus* was nearer related to *Romulus*, who scrupled not to shed his Brothers bloud, lest he should have a Companion in his Royalty. All the occasion there was to suppose that the young Emperours Unkle who resided at *Nanquin*, was a King in reality, was only this; he had Viceroys subordinate to him; but so had

had *Pelipaouan*. We may therefore conclude that this was no Remarque of Soveraignty, but only a permission which they had from the Court to constitute inferiour Viceroys, reserving to themselves the Superiority and chief Authority in the Government.

Chap. IX.

The Tartars *pass into the Province of* Canton, *where a* Chinese *Prince is Crowned Emperour of* China. *They enter the City of* Canton, *finding the Gates open. A* Chinese *Fleet which came with Relief, fires the City. The Proclamation which the* Tartarian *Viceroy causes to be published in* Canton.

ALthough there remained two great provinces to be subdu'd before the entire Conquest of *China* could be compleated, yet *Pelipaonan*, after he had defeated and seized upon *Icoan*, did not think it glorious enough for him in person to proceed further in that Expedition, in which he saw so little difficulties and few Obstacles which might add Lustre to his former Victories. He setled himself in the province

province of *Foquien*, that he might there provide all things necessary for the reducing the remaining part of the Empire of *China* under the Subjection of the *Tartars*: He resolves to begin with the province of *Canton*, into which he passes over an Army of two hundred thousand men, as he did the preceding year into *Foquien*: And as if he had already brought all the Inhabitants of *Canton* under the *Tartarian* yoke, at the same time as he impowered a General or Viceroy in Martial Affairs, with the Command of his Army, and the direction of all his Military Concerns, he likewise constituted a Lord chief Justice or Viceroy in Civil Affairs, who had the administration of the Civil Government of that province.

The General of the Army was called *Ly*, as the first Tyrant was, of whom he came little short in his Cruelties. And it was the violence and fierceness of this Commander which made these people the more dread the *Tartarian* Dominion. Till now they

hoped they ſhould have been treated by the Victors with Clemency and Mildneſs, publick Fame having informed them of the Moderation and exact Diſtribution of Juſtice which the Emperour *Xunchi* and his Unkles had obſerved where-ever they came: But the violent and fierce procedure of this Viceroy made them quickly change the good opinion they had of this new Government. As for the Lord chief Juſtice, he was a moderate perſon, and fitter to command; he endeavoured all he could poſſible to cheriſh in the people the eſteem they had of the young Emperour's Indulgency and Clemency.

This province being nearer to *Macao*, from whence the Relations came to *Manila*, and from thence were diſperſed into other parts, hath been the occaſion that we have been more exactly informed of all the moſt remarkable paſſages in the reduction hereof. And therefore by obſerving what manner of Defence the *Chineſes* here made, the truer meaſure may be taken of the Valour

lour and Martial Exploits, or rather of the ill Conduct and little Reſolution of that Nation. But from the hard uſage with which the *Tartars* treated theſe people, it muſt not be concluded that they made the like waſte and ſpoil in the other provinces; for this part of *China* being very remote from the Court and perſon of the Emperour *Xunchi*, notwithſtanding all the care and precautions of this Prince, it was not poſſible to retain the Souldiery under exact Diſcipline. They were not now paid as heretofore; but that they might ſubſiſt, their General, a violent and raſh man, by his own example, inſtructed them in all manner of Licentiouſneſs. And this is the true reaſon that the deſolation in the Southern provinces was beyond compariſon greater than in the other parts of the Empire.

The numerous Army which General *Ly* commanded, began to march out of their Quarters the beginning of *January*, 1647. And it being the cuſtom of the *Tartars* to fall on with all their

force upon the Capital City of the province, all the several Troops Rendezvouzed the 19th. of the same Moneth, within half a days Journey of the City of *Canton*. It is easie to imagine what a General Consternation there then was. But that we may observe how fondly ambitious men are of the Title of King, we must here remarque that in this City, which could expect nothing but to be quickly reduced under the Dominion of the *Tartars*, a new Prince of the Bloud-Royal had in the preceding Moneth of *December* caused himself to be Crowned Emperour of *China*, though he had but lately seen that several far more powerful Princes than himself had purchased their own destruction by assuming to themselves the Royal Dignity, yet he could not Master the impatient desire he had to be stiled Emperour: His whole State was circumscribed in the Walls of that City; and all his Revenues and Treasury consisted only in vain Expectations. A *Mooriſh* King of *Cordiva* once said, *Let me reign to day*,

day, though I die to morrow; and that was the Deſtiny not only of that *Moor*, but of this *Chineſe*. The pride of men muſt ſtrangely blind and bewitch them, to make them imagine it ſo great a felicity to die with their Brows encircled in a Royal Diadem.

This great Emperour of *Canton* had under him ſeveral Souldiers, but ill armed, and as ill paid. They were all fully reſolved to flie from the *Tartars* before they ever engaged in the defence of their Prince. It is true that they had been in ſeveral Skirmiſhes, and had always come off ſafe, but it was becauſe they took care to ſecure themſelves by running away; and without doubt they had reſerved themſelves for this laſt time. See what Forces this Emperour had, of whoſe Name the Relation takes no notice, his Victories having never ſufficiently ſignalized him.

As for the City of *Canton*, it is ſaid to have been very well fortified; and the vaſt Riches which were in it made the *Tartars* earneſtly wiſh that it would make

make some resistance, that they might thereby be licensed by the Law of Arms to pillage it. They knew there was a great commerce of all Nations, that several Merchants even of *Europe*, had their Magazines and Factories there. They pleased themselves with the hopes of the rich plunder they should have if so strong a City should make any opposition. There were then two hundred thousand Inhabitants in it, who were defended with two strong Walls, which were well flanked with Towers and Bulwarks, and fortified with several Out-works, in a very good condition of Defence, and furnished with great store of Cannon well fixed. It concerned them to defend a King whom they had newly crowned, who had Souldiers enough under him, and though a great part of them were Run-aways, yet certainly he could not but have a considerable number of men knowing and experienced in Martial Affairs. And besides all this, the Town was scituated upon a great River, and at the very foot of the

the Walls there was a very powerful Fleet of ſtrong Ships well armed, and ſufficiently provided both with Men and Ammunition. Finally, there was in the City of *Canton* both Men, Arms, Ammunition, and Proviſions; and all things neceſſary to hold out a long ſiege: And yet notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, which might make a Town impregnable, only twenty *Tartars* made themſelves Maſters of it; theſe were ſome Light-Horſmen who had advanced themſelves before the Army; and theſe alone took poſſeſſion of the vaſt City of *Canton*: Certainly this is not to be parallell'd in any Hiſtory.

The Army of the *Tartars* made a halt half a dayes journey from the Town, when theſe twenty Horſemen advanced themſelves upon this great Deſign; for there the Souldiers are not under ſo exact a Diſcipline, and ſtay not, as in other parts, for the word of command. They went up to the very gates of the old Town, which they found open, and preſently entred in, and rid through all

all the Streets till they came to the new City, where they did the like. They only let flie ſome Arrows here and there, to ſtrike a terrour in the people, and cried out to them that they ſhould not ſtir, for the whole Body of the *Tartars* were at the Gates; but that they need fear nothing if they were quiet and peaceable.

The Rumour of the approach of the *Tartarian* Army was ſcarce divulged in the Town, when the greateſt part of the Souldiers, inſtead of putting themſelves in a poſture of defence, abandoned their Stations, and quit their Arms. Theſe Braves would no longer now endure any Mark or Badge of their Profeſſion, but plucked off quickly their Coats lined with yellow, which is the uſual Habit of the Souldiers there, and having flung away their Arms, went and thruſt themſelves into the crowd of the common people. The Emperour of *Canton* remained all alone in his Palace without any Guard, but that of his Wives and Concubines, and ſome few Eunuchs; goodly Troops

to

to diſpute for victory with the *Tartars*! And in this extremity his Exchequer was ſo empty, and his Credit ſo low, that having occaſion for about ſome ſix hundred pound ſterling, he could not find ſo much in all his Coffers, nor in the Pockets of all his Courtiers.

This ſmall number of the *Tartars* run about all the ſtreets and places of the City without meeting for a long time with any perſon who offered ſo much as to make them ſtand. At laſt ſome *Chineſes* drew together, and ſurrounded four of them, who were the moſt negligent in ſtanding upon their Guard, and having ſeized them, they carried them to their Emperour, who aſſoon as he ſaw them, aſcended upon his Throne, and ſentenced them to be executed in his preſence. This was all the Blood which the *Tartars* here loſt; and at this eaſie rate they purchaſed the Defeat of the Emperour of *Canton*, and the Surprizal of this vaſt City.

There was not any of the Inhabitants who did in the leaſt think of the defence

defence of the City; all their thoughts were taken up in contriving how to save their Lives as well as they could: And for this intent, the wealthiest and chiefest persons of the City judged their greatest security would be in disguising themselves like poor Folkes, and in this Equipage to thrust themselves into the crowd of the distressed and miserable people. God be praised that it sometimes happens that the rich envy the condition of the poor; for both Friends and Foes alwayes design upon the Wealthy; and it was at these which the *Tartars* aimed; and therefore it the more concerned them to conceal themselves. As for the poor, they had nothing to lose, and therefore might very securely stay in their houses. It was some satisfaction to them that they could now laugh at the Fortune of the rich, who had so often derided their Misery. It was little available to those who were very wealthy to have been so sollicitous to disguise themselves: The malice of the common people would not let slip so fair an opportunity

portunity to revenge themſelves by letting theſe perſons know who it was the *Tartars* ſearched for. The Populace cried out in all parts, *Let theſe Villains come and ſhew themſelves; Let theſe Thieves and Robbers who have ſold their Prince, that they might heap up ſuch vaſt Wealth unto themſelves, come now and enrich the* Tartars *therewith; let them now accompt with their new Maſters. They have for a long time oppreſſed and abuſed us; but they ſhall now fare no better than we; they ſhall be now no greater Lords than we are: Shall they be poor only in diſguiſe, and we miſerable in reality? Shall they have ruined us, and ſhall we ſave them?* &c.

The Army of the *Tartars* came before the Town towards the Evening, and was not a little ſurprized and aſtoniſhed to find the Gates open, as if it were not an Enemies Town. The *Tartars* went and took up their Quarters where they beſt pleaſed; reſted themſelves, and ſlept very ſecurely, no body offering to diſturb them, or ſo much

as

as ask who they were, or what they came for. The General and Lord chief Justice went and lodged themselves in the old Palace of the Viceroys of the Emperours of *China*, and were as well accommodated as if they were in their own Houses.

Thus the King of *Canton* was dispossessed of his whole State the four and fortieth day of his Reign, which he resolved not long to outlive: And therefore assoon as he saw himself abandoned by his Subjects, he went and seated himself upon his Imperial Throne with as severe and grave an aspect as became his Royal Dignity. This may represent to our view the *Roman* Senators when *Brennus* and the *Gauls* sacked *Rome*. In this condition this poor Prince expressed himself to this effect;

The Tartars *are possessed of my City, and my Subjects have abandoned me; what can I now expect but death? But I will die like a King. I am mounted upon the Throne, and upon the Throne I will*

will end my days. Here I will have the ſatisfaction at the ſame time to caſt a view upon my ſhort Proſperity, and to face my preſent Adverſity. Here I will attend and ſee how Heaven ſhall pleaſe to diſpoſe of me; I make no reſiſtance againſt its Decrees; I patiently ſubmit to its Ordinances, &c.

Some of his Wives whom he had loved the moſt tenderly, that they might teſtifie their paſſion to him, killed themſelves in his preſence; a ſtrange effect of Love, that ſhould make hatred to our ſelves tranſcend our Love! As for the King, he ſtaid upon the Throne till night; but then he was no longer minded to tarry there for death; either Fear or Drowſineſs made him deſcend. He had reaſon not to perſiſt in acting ſo ſerious and grave a part, when all his Gravity was ſo ſoon likely to terminate; but whatever he did, he could not long eſcape his Enemies, who ſearched too diligently for him, not to diſcover him quickly.

This ſame night a great *Chineſe* Fleet

of strong Ships came from Sea up the Channel to the very City, and brought a very considerable Relief; but they were so mad and surprized to find that the *Tartars* were Masters of it, that they assisted to consummate the ruine of it; for they were so enraged both against the common Enemy, who was possessed of the City, and the Inhabitants, who had so cowardly delivered it up, that they set fire to that part of *Canton* which was called the New City, and was the most beautiful of the whole Town. The Fire catched so fast upon the Houses, which were only built of Timber, that they were in a very short time consumed in the flames.

It is said the Fire was so great, that in the Old City, which was four Miles distant from this, one might see all that night as clear as if it had been Noonday. Some believed it was the *Tartars* which set fire on the City, and after laid the blame upon the *Chinese* Fleet: But there is little probability that the Victors would deprive themselves of the fruit of their Victory, by

by reducing the beſt part of this great City into Aſhes. They had not as yet began to ſack the Town, which they fully reſolved to do, not mattering, whether they could or could not juſtifie their intended Act. The Fleet after they had fired the City, and though it was night, had by the brightneſs of the Flames ſhewn themſelves, they tacked about, and ſailed away; and by morning it was diſcernable to what a deplorable condition the Fire had reduced the greateſt part of that City.

The Sequel of theſe Diſorders was the beginning of thoſe outragious Violences and horrible Oppreſſions by which the *Tartars* have ſince quite ruined and deſolated thoſe once ſo flouriſhing Provinces. They did now no longer ſhew any obſervance to the Orders and Prohibitions of the Emperour *Xunchi*. It was one of the Injunctions of this Prince that thoſe Towns and Places which made no reſiſtance, neither within nor without the Walls, ſhould receive no ill uſage; but

that only a *Tartarian* Governour should be placed there with some Troops, if it was judged necessary, to keep a Garrison there, that he might be able by force of Arms to reduce and chastise the Inhabitants, should they offer to revolt. The City of *Canton* had not made the least resistance, and of all the Cannon which were placed upon the walls, there was not one Gun fired. As for the death of those four *Tartars* who had so rashly hazarded themselves, perhaps the Viceroy was not as yet informed of it; or if he was, it is manifest these Straglers entred the Town without any Orders: And whatever is done by any party without the License of their Commanders cannot oblige the contrary party as to this regard, to shew any regard to the Military Orders which the King or his Generals have established.

But notwithstanding all these Prohibitions of the Emperour, the General, who had so passionately wished that the City of *Canton* would have made some resistance, that thereby he might have been

been priviledged to plunder it, would not either rightfully or wrongfully let slip so rich a Booty. He was so transported by his Avarice and Cruelty, that he had already made sure to himself of the riches of *Canton*: He now therefore contrives to pillage it, though it was against the expres Order of the Emperour *Xunchi*, and against the Parole which he himself had given both before and after he was entred the Town. For this effect, he caused to be fixed up in all the Streets and publick places, several Proclamations to this Purport;

1. *Lest any of the Inhabitants should apprehend any violence, he assured them they should not be damnified in the least.*

2. *That all Persons without any exception, should upon pain of Life, within three days cut their hair after the* Tartarian *Mode.*

3. *That within these three days the Masters of all Families should present themselves before the General and Lord chief Justice, and bring in Writing their own Names, and an exact List of all persons in in their Family, so that whose Name should not be found therein, should be reputed an Enemy and Traytor worthy of death.*

4. *That all Shop-keepers and Workmen should apply themselves to their ordinary Vocation, to gain their Subsistance by their Art and Calling, as they did before the entrance of the* Tartars.

5. *That the Trade and Commerce should continue as before, and for this intent, that all places where Merchants used to assemble, all Shops, Magazines, Custom-Houses,*

Houſes, and generally all places relating to Trade and Traffick, ſhould be open and free for the publick Benefit and Conveniency.

Theſe were the Proclamations which the General publiſhed; and I ſhall now let you ſee how they were put in execution.

Chap. X.

The Tartars *ſack the City of* Canton. *The Viceroys change the Government. The Death of the King of* Canton *and all his Followers. The reduction of ſeveral places in the Province.*

THe twentieth day of *January* in the year 1647. proved not very fortunate to the Inhabitants of *Canton*; for after all theſe fair promiſing Proclamations, the General began to ſack and pillage the Town, which he continued for three days. At firſt the *Tartars* found ſo rich Booty and Prey in all parts that they thought ſcorn to burden themſelves with any thing but either Gold, Silver, Pearls, Musk, or ſuch other like things of high price: But afterwards they were not ſo nice, and did not forbear to accommodate themſelves with Silk either raw or wound,

wound, woven or unwoven; and at last they took whatever else best pleased the Fancy of these pillagers: And what but this could be expected from such persons who had all things at their discretion.

But it must be acknowleged, that as in all parts some men are more just and honourable than others, so amongst these *Tartars* some of the Captains, which are the persons of the highest quality in that Nation, did treat the Inhabitants of *Canton* with something more of Humanity; for they only went to the Houses of the *Mandorins*, who presented them either with a Sum of Money, or something else of a very considerable value. And if they were satisfied with this Present or Ransom, they then withdrew themselves, and searched the House no further. And the anxious care with which they keep up their Wives and Women, made them look upon this as a most obliging action. When the *Tartars* went from this house, they always left some Signal to notifie that it had been pillaged, that it

it might not be plundered the second time: But if the *Mandorins* Present did not satisfie them, as not being proportionable to the Accompt they had received of his Wealth, then the poor Wretch his house was ransack'd all over; he lost not only his Present, but all that he had which was good for ought; or at least all the *Tartars* would please to take; for from that moment he must expect no mercy; all places in his house were broke open, they rifled and searched every Corner; and seized upon whatever they had a mind to, both Goods and Persons.

This engaged the *Mandorins* to be most bountifully free of all that they had which was either rich or valuable; for they must now resolve to be very liberal; and the most avaritious persons were not unwilling to appear prodigal upon this occasion, where nothing but profuseness could protect them. And yet there were some who with all the Presents they could make, could not save themselves: This proceeded from the malice of the common people, who that

that they might have the ſatisfaction to avenge themſelves on the *Mandorins*, were not affraid to give wrong information to the *Tartars*, perſwading them that ſome were more rich than really they were. Therefore ſome of the *Mandorins* fared no better for all their Preſents; for the *Tartars* held to their informations, pretending always that they who were ſo able might give more bountifully.

As for the perſons of lower condition, and the common people, they were left to the mercy of the Souldiers, and there is little to be found amongſt them. The miſerable Inhabitants felt during theſe three dayes to what a deplorable condition that Town is reduced which is abandoned to be ſack'd and pillaged; for the *Tartars* were not content to take from them all they had, but proceeded to thoſe exceſſes and violences as tranſcended all the patience of theſe poor Wretches; for the *Chineſe*, who are the moſt jealous people upon earth, were ſenſible of nothing ſo much as to ſee the *Tartars* impudently

pudently ruſh into the Lodgings, or rather the Priſons and Cages where they kept their Women ſhut up. I call them Priſons and Cages, as thinking theſe the moſt proper names for the places in which they incloſe their Wives and Women, being they are cloſe and ſtrictly watched. And this is evident whenſoever any Families remove by water to any place; for then all their Women are tranſported in Sedans, the Doors and Windows of which, though they are very little, are ſo fortified with ſtrong Iron Wire, that they are not eaſily broke open. And as for their Lodging in their houſes in any Town, there is never any Window in them towards the Street, nor towards any place from whence they may be ſeen. And notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the *Chineſe* do not think their Wives are kept ſure enough; perhaps it is becauſe ſome things are loſt by being kept too ſtrictly.

But all the ſtrict Guard with which the *Chineſes* kept their Wives, was little available to them now: The *Tar-*

tars

tars quickly broke open theſe priſons; and now there was nothing but Maſſacres and Murders in all places, which was occaſioned by the endeavours of Fathers and Husbands, to preſerve the Honour of their Daughters and Wives; for violences of this nature are inſupportable to all Nations. The *Tartars* were not content to commit theſe Diſorders in the Houſes of the *Chineſes*; but to compleat their Outrages, they carried away their Women into their Camp, and there they told that they came purpoſely into *China* to ſhew them once in their lives the Sky, and that not through Grates and Lattices, and to ſet them at liberty after they had been Captives and priſoners all their Lives. Thus they took pleaſure with theſe Ralleries to inſult over theſe miſerable Wretches. It is ſaid, that the firſt day the City was ſack'd, they carried away great numbers into the Camp, without ſhewing any more regard to the rich than to the poor; and that the Ladies of the higheſt quality were compelled to ſuffer the higheſt Indignities. Thus

Thus in the City of *Canton* there was nothing but Rape and Murder, and in the *Tartarian* Camp nothing could be heard but the Groans and Cries of Women, who bemoaned and lamented their Fathers, their Husbands, their Honour, their Liberty, their Countrey, and several other innumerable calamities, which made them abominate both their Lives and themselves. In the midst of this desolation the people ceased not to cry and complain to the Viceroys; Is this that which you promised us? Is this the performance of the assurance you gave us, that no damage should be done to those who quietly and voluntarily rendred up themselves, as we have done, we who have ruined our City and Families by rendring up our selves too credulously?

The Lord chief Justice or Viceroy in Civil Affairs, shewed a dislike of these disorders; but as he was not Master, so he did not much trouble himself to stop the progress of them. As for the Viceroy of Military Affairs, he less concerned himself herein; he only

only publiſhed ſome new Proclamations, by which he prohibited the Souldiers to enter into any houſes, or to offer any violence to the Inhabitants, upon pain of puniſhment: But theſe prohibitions were but weak remedies for ſo great calamities; he only did this out of policy to amuſe the people; for he himſelf did moſt violate theſe Injunctions, and had the greateſt ſhare in the plunder; and the Viceroys cauſing whatever was moſt rich and valuable which was found in the City to be publickly carried into the houſes, which they had taken up for themſelves, did clearly evidence that they were the moſt culpable of theſe Diſorders: They pretended, that not having Money to pay the Army, they were neceſſitated to permit the Souldiers to pillage the Town, that thereby they might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt.

The *Chineſes* ſeized upon ſome of the Souldiers, and carried them before the General, and there accuſed them of Murder, and Rape, and ſeveral other hainous Crimes committed by them,

them, whereby they had reduced the whole City to a very desperate condition. He then caused some of them to be chastised, but their punishment was not proportionable to the enormity of their crimes; so that during the three days of the Sack of the City of *Canton*, there was no stop put to the violence and fury of the Souldiers. It is believed there was more than fifteen thousand Inhabitants massacred, and the greatest part in the defence of either their Wives, Daughters or Sisters; neither their Wealth, nor their Honour upon any other occasion but this, could prevail with the *Chineses* to hazard their Lives thus freely: But they were willing to sacrifice themselves in the defence of their Wives; so powerful an influence have Women upon men, that they are able to inspire Courage and Resolution into the Breasts of the most timorous Cowards.

In these three days was utterly ruined and desolated that great City, the Riches whereof did before surpass the wealth of divers Kingdoms and Nations.

ons. And after all this barbarous inhumanity, the *Tartarian* General said, he wished the Inhabitants would have made some resistance, that he might have been provoked to have treated them with less moderation: But if this was the moderation of the *Tartars*, what can we imagine should their Rigour and Severity have been?

After the dayes were expired, during which time the City was abandoned to the Rapine and Violence of the Souldiers; the General was willing to put a check to the disorders, and then he concerned himself in putting a stop to the insolencies of the Souldiers; which he did with no great difficulty: By which it is manifest that there are few disorders in any Army to which the Commanders in chief may not put a stay if they will so generously engage themselves herein as they ought. But oftentimes the Licentiousness in Armies takes both its Rise and Continuance from the remissness of the Generals in the execution of their Charge; nay, many times by their own example

and authority they licenſe theſe Violences. To prevent the further progreſs of theſe diſorders, they commanded all the Souldiers to depart out of the Town, and not to return thither again till they were commanded, but to ſtay in the Camp. They ſhould have hanged up whoever tranſgreſſed theſe Orders. The *Tartars* were then encamped round the Walls of the City, under Leather Tents, as their uſual cuſtom is, which were ſo numerous, and ranked in ſo handſom an order, that they looked like a portable Town, or another *Canton*.

Thus the Complaints and Violences were appeaſed; not but that there was ſtill cauſe to complain. And it is rarely otherwiſe in an Army. If in *Europe* it is not poſſible to hinder the Souldiers from plunder and rapine, in which they place their great happineſs and delight; much leſs is it poſſible amongſt theſe *Barbarians*: But all the violence in *Europe* is moderation in compariſon of what we have now ſeen. The unfortunate Inhabitants of *Canton* began

began now to breath again; and it was a comfort to some that they were not the most unhappy. A strange consolation! and yet this induces us all to bear our afflictions the more patiently.

It now remains that we should admire, or rather be moved with compassion, to see on the one side, with what fierce haughtiness the *Tartars* treated the *Chineses*, and on the other, how crowchingly and submissively these behaved themselves before their Victors: If any of these afflicted Wretches did but mutter in the least, the *Tartar* began to speak big and loud, or rather to thunder, and at the same instant clapped his hand upon his Cimeter; the *Chinese* only stooped down his head, heaved up his shoulders, and presently became mute; nay, they kept in their very breath as long as they could; or else they prostrated themselves upon the ground, and upon their Knees they studied for Complements how in the most obliging language to reply to the outrages of their persecutors. The miserable crea-

tures sometimes used such impertinent flatteries that they gave the Title of Highness to the meanest Souldier in the Army; and as for the Viceroys, they dignified them with the stile of Majesty, nay, Divinity if they pleased.

Whenever any of these Commanders went through the City, always some of their Guard cried out aloud to the people, *Have you submitted your selves to the great Emperour of* Tartary? The *Chineses* repeated several times, *We have most readily submitted*; and testified their submission with all the demonstrations they could possibly invent. And if the meanest Souldier had met in the streets any *Chinese*, though he was a person of the highest quality in the City, he treated him like a Slave or a Porter, and presently made him carry his Baggage, and without any authority but force and a *Tartarian* insolence, he compelled the *Chinese* to do the most servile and vilest drudgeries, and that most patiently. But alas, what a cutting and desperate trial was this of the patience of these miserable

miſerable perſons! For the *Chineſes*, eſpecially the perſons of Quality, are ſo nice, ſo averſe to any thing of labour or toil, and ſo prone to vilifie and contemn others, that nothing ſo much pierced them as theſe unheard of Inſolencies.

After that the Viceroys had taken care for the government of the City, by the eſtabliſhing of ſeveral Magiſtrates, who were under their authority, to render Juſtice to the people, they thought it further convenient to diſtribute amongſt the people ſeveral little Tickets of coloured Paper, about the breadth of two fingers, in which were writ in *Chineſe* Characters theſe words, *People ſubjected to the Emperour of* Tartary: All perſons might ſecurely paſs and go where they pleaſed by the protection of theſe Tickets, which were, as it were, ſo many Declarations of ſubmiſſion and ſubjection; which they were obliged to have always in a readineſs in their hands, or faſtned upon their Cloaths. There were other Tickets of a different form for perſons of

higher quality; these were four square, about a hands breadth, in which were writ the same words, but in larger Characters, and these were not of Paper, but of some kind of Stuffe. The Souldiers much respected these Tickets, especially the latter, which was all the priviledge the great and most considerable persons of the City had.

After they had thus setled all things, there remained nothing now but to secure the person of him who was crowned King of *Canton*. Till now the Viceroys contented themselves with the knowledge that he was still in the City, for they had placed so strict a Guard, that neither this Prince, nor any other *Chinese* could possibly escape; but now they did with all diligence search out for him, menacing all persons who concealed him any longer with death; and by this means he was discovered to them, by those who had been his greatest Confidents, and had not till now deserted him. Assoon as the *Tartars* had seized him, they instantly cut off his Head. This was the *Catastrophe* of this

this great Monarch, who reigned only four and forty days: A ſhort glory to have coſt ſo dear; but at this rate are the Vanities of this Life eſteemed of; and there will never be want of thoſe who will yet moſt ambitiouſly court them. After this they put to death all who were diſcovered with him, and till then had adhered to him: Their crime was only that they durſt yet retain ſome Loyalty for their Prince; and for this the *Tartarian* policy condemned them to death: A barbarous and cruel policy, which renders thoſe more criminal who practiſe it, than thoſe whom it condemns.

All things began now to be ſetled in their uſual method under the government of the *Tartars*, and thoſe they employed under them, having turned out, changed and reformed the ancient *Mandorins*. Theſe new Maſters of *Canton* began now to apply themſelves to repair the dammages which the Fire had done to the Buildings of the City, and the Fury and rage of the Souldiers to the neighbouring places. And now

they took under their consideration the restoring and securing the ancient commerce, by encouraging all Tradesmen and Workmen to apply themselves to their ordinary Trades and Employments, that all persons for the future might for the publick necessity and benefit follow their usual Vocations.

There remained yet several Cities and places in that Province to be reduced under the power of the Victor. That province contains several great Cities; the most considerable of which after *Canton*, are *Xaochin*, *Xuochen*; *Nanchium* and *Hochicheu*. The *Tartars*, as their custom is, sent to summon them all to submit voluntarily and peaceably, or else, they gave them to understand, they would send an Army to besiege them, and then they must expect no Quarter. Upon these Summons, the greatest part, not staying for compulsion, did readily yield themselves up; but some put themselves in a posture of defence, whereby they did not advantage themselves, and were subdued in a very short time. Those who resisted;

quickly

quickly learn'd that they had much better have complied with the times, and have prevented even the Summons to Obedience and Submiſſion; for either voluntarily, or by violence, they ſaw they muſt of neceſſity come under the ſubjection of a new Maſter: If they did but refuſe to pay obedience to the Summons, they were preſently ſurrounded, and the Fields all covered over with innumerable Troops, which made them ſoon feel the rigour of thoſe penalties with which they had been menaced; for the moſt barbarous and inſolent of the whole Army preſently caſt themſelves into that party which came againſt them, and were headed with Commanders not leſs averſe to deſolation and deſtruction; neither Honour, Juſtice nor fear of puniſhment could put any bounds to their Rage and Fury. Thoſe who ſtood upon their defence muſt reſolve to ſuffer moſt direful calamities. By theſe means they compleated the entire Conqueſt of the whole province, except the City of *Xaochin*, which as yet could not

not resolve to submit to so cruel a Dominion.

Chap. XI.

At Xaochin *the Chineſe* ſtand *upon their Defence.* Gueqan *King of* Quanſi *comes into that City. He goes and meets the* Tartars, *he fights, and routs them. A Diviſion amongſt the* Chineſes. *They are defeated in another fight, and their City* Xaochin *taken.*

THE City of *Xaochin* is eminent above all the places of *China*, by being the firſt which is known to have worſted the *Tartars*. The Inhabitants had the reſolution not only to defend themſelves, but to go and meet the Enemy before he approached their Walls, and compelled him to retreat, after they had routed and defeated him in open field. The City *Xaochin* is diſtant from *Canton* about three days journey;

journey; it is very ſpatious, and ſtrong, both by its ſituation, and by ſeveral Works and Fortifications, which made it very tenable: It is ſituated in the furtheſt parts of the province of *Canton*, upon the Confines of *Quanſi*, which was the laſt province which remained unconquered of fifteen, into which the Empire of *China* is divided.

There was in the province of *Quanſi* two Kings newly Crowned, both of them Princes of the Royal Family, of the ancient Emperours of *China*. This was, that the *Tartar* might have both the Glory to conquer two Kings, and the pleaſure to make theſe unfortunate Princes experiment what a grand ſatisfaction it is to die with Crowns upon their heads. But that which is very pleaſant, theſe two Princes were at war together; or rather, they had a Diſpute and Conteſt concerning the Rights and Juriſdiction which each of them pretended to this province; ſo little did they think of letting the *Tartar* have any ſhare with them, who was comming to make a better accord between

between them, by seizing upon all from them.

One of these two Kings was called *Sinhiannan*, a young Prince, about twenty years old, raw both in Years, Resolution and Conduct. The other was called *Guequan*, who, it is probable was not so young, but as to his Age the Relation is silent. It only saith, he was a man of great courage, and till now had been ever successful in Martial Exploits, and that if at the beginning of the War the *Chineses* had crowned him Emperour, so that he might have had time to draw together his Troops, and rally up all his Forces, as several Princes had who were crowned in the other provinces, he might probably have kept the *Tartars* in play, and put a stop to their progress before they were advanced so far into the Countrey.

This *Guequan* marched into the field, and being resolved manfully to oppose the Enemies, he went towards the Borders of *Canton*, there to expect their entrance into *Quansi*. This is the

the first time the *Chineses* durst ever venture to go meet the *Tartars*. And this was the first man in all *China*, who had so much resolution as not to content himself to expect them, but went in search after them, to stop them in their March, and to fight them. The City of *Xaochin* is situated, as I said, upon the confines of the two provinces *Canton* and *Quanſi*, and was the only City in the province of *Canton*, which had not submitted to the *Tartars*. *Guequan* who was advanced so far, sent to offer to the Inhabitants the assistance of his person, and engaged to them that he would hazard all in the defence of their Liberties, if they would acknowledge him for their King. Those of *Xaochin* embraced the proposals of *Guequan*, and presently proclaimed him their King. He then entred into the Town, which he found very well furnished both with Arms and Ammunition, and a great number of Souldiers, who were fled thither from all parts, and they all seemed resolved courageously to fight

for

for their Liberty and Countrey, and to lose their Lives rather than to enjoy them in slavery to the *Tartars*.

Gueguan brought with him several considerable Troops into the Town. Amongst his Souldiers, he had some who called themselves Wolves; these were bloody and desperate Fellows, and generally all his men were very brave, resolute, and more zealous for their Liberty than their Lives. The eager courage of the Souldiers did so elevate the Kings resolution, that he thought he was able to do any thing. And that he might take the advantage of their present heat, he resolves to lose no time; but with all speed to give battel to the *Tartars*. He therefore takes the Field; but his resolutions and counsels were not so secret, but the *Tartars* were informed of them. But they could not perswade themselves that so little a corner of the Empire, which they looked upon as conquered already, could be able to form any Enterprize which could retard their Victory. *Pelipaouan* himself did so

ſo vilifie all the reſiſtance theſe provinces could make, that he would not ſo much as ſtir from *Fochien*. He judged it unworthy of his Grandeur to appear in this Expedition, being willing to remit the glory thereof to the Viceroy of Military affairs in the province of *Canton*: He only ſent him ſome new ſupplies of men, with order, that aſſoon as he had taken ſufficient care for the ſecurity of the City and Province, he ſhould with all expedition go with a very powerful Army before the City of *Xaochin*, and make that and the province of *Quanſi* ſubmit; commanding him withal, that where-ever he came, he ſhould leave no crowned Head alive, nor man breathing who could lay any claim or pretenſion to the Soveraignty.

The Viceroy departed from *Canton* at the head of an Army of near two hundred thouſand men both Horſe and Foot. He cauſed likewiſe a numerous Train of Artillery, with all neceſſary proviſion and ammunition to be drawn into the Field along with him. And as for

for the Government of all affairs of the City and Province, both Civil and Military, he committed it to the management of the Viceroy in Civil Affairs. And for his better security, he left him a sufficient Guard of Souldiers. This great Army came in a very few dayes within view of *Xaochin*; but before he could approach nearer the City, he met with *Guequan*, who shewed himself very ready to engage him; for he had drawn up his numerous and gallant Troops in very good order, ready to give Battel. The *Tartars*, assoon as they perceived them, began to vilifie this shew of courage so little usual in the *Chineses*, and look upon this fine Muster as only an effect of a very vain and frivolous audacity, which would be but ill maintained, and therefore he instantly came up to them, and fell on with the main Body of his Army, but disorderly enough, as they usually do. They thought they should at the very first encounter, without any difficulty have routed them; for having so often beaten the *Chineses*, they looked upon

upon them as already defeated; but the first Charge had not that success they promised themselves: The *Chineses* did make no great Noise, being mad and ashamed to see themselves thus vilified by these *Barbarians*: But when those who charged them thus scornfully, came close up to them, they let them see they knew how to fight. The *Tartar* Horse more especially found the Body of the *Chinese* Pikes so firm and close, that they could not break in so soon as they imagined; now they came to their Lances and Cimeters, and here the *Chineses* shewed themselves as firm and as resolute as the *Tartars*; but they did not much make use of their Bows and Arrows, but fired continually, and played very briskly upon them with their great Guns. This Charge was managed very resolutely and stoutly on both sides. The *Chineses* kept their ground, by which those who so assured themselves of the Victory, began to understand that there is no Law that one party should ever conquer, and the other always

be conquered. The Field began to be covered with the *Tartars* who lay dead and wounded, and their Blood began to ſtream out in all parts. The *Chineſes* now advanced, but could not perſwade themſelves that the Victory could be theirs, nor could the *Tartars* imagine they could be defeated; ſo much do men from cuſtom claim authority over that which they acknowledge to be Fortune and Hazard. Thus in that famous Battle in *Spain*, than in which Victory was never more hotly diſputed; *Cæſar* could not imagine young *Pompey* could defeat him.

But at laſt the *Tartars* and *Chineſes* both began to believe what they ſaw ſo evidently, and the *Tartars* being routed, fled away in great diſorder. The *Chineſes* hereby being fully convinced of the advantage they had, purſued very cloſe after the conquered. The one ſide now confeſſed they had loſt the Day, and the other cried Victory. Thus the *Chineſes* ſhould have defended themſelves in the firſt provinces: If they had there fought thus valiantly,

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it is manifeſt, all the *Tartarian* Force could never ſo ſoon have compleated their Conqueſt. *Troy* for ten years held out a Siege managed by other-gueſs Souldiers than theſe.

The *Chineſes* returned after their Victory to *Xaochin*, and entred the Town in great Triumph and Glory, and were received by the Inhabitants with Tears of Joy, and for ſeveral dayes there was nothing but Feaſting and Entertainments; for the people could never ſatisfie themſelves with embracing and applauding thoſe whom they looked upon as the Liberators and Avengers of their Countrey; but this was to proclaim a Triumph before the the Victory. The advantage which the *Chineſes* had now gained might have put a ſtop to the progreſs of their Enemies, had they known how to make uſe of it; but the fond vanity and pride of that Nation preſently created Diſcord amongſt them, and thereby ſacrificed them to the Vengeance of their enemies.

There was in the great Fight Soul-

diers of both Provinces, both of *Canton* and *Quansi*: Those of *Canton* were in *Xaochin* when *Guequan* was acknowledged, and received as King. The one and the other had equally signalized themselves that day; but when they were returned into the Town, neither the one nor the other would yield that there ought to be any equality in the praise and applause which was due to them, each party pretended that they alone had routed the *Tartars*, and that they were able singly to make head against that terrible Enemy. So great a haughtiness was there in this Nation, that a contest amongst them for praise and glory divided them into two distinct parties, whereby neither the one nor the other long subsisted.

The *Tartar* was touched to the very quick that he had been routed, and therefore now busied all his thoughts in contriving how to efface that blemish which did so discredit the Fame of his Arms: Therefore without losing any time, he marched again into the Field, being extrordinarily animated against

againſt the Town of *Xaochin*. He was ſenſible that he was defeated before, by having made too ſure of the Victory, and having too inconſiderately undervalued his Enemy; he therefore now reſolves to take his advantage more prudently; he drew up his Army in that order of Battel which he judged moſt convenient, and gave out all Orders neceſſary both for the aſſaulting and routing his Enemy more aſſuredly.

The *Chineſes* failed not to come and preſent themſelves to a freſh Battel, but they were not now ſo numerous as before. The Militia of the two Provinces ſtood upon their punctilio's of Honour; and they had choſen forſooth a very ſeaſonable time to diſpute theſe points. Thoſe of *Canton* maintained moſt obſtinately, that all the Glory of the Victory ought to be attributed to them ſolely. And upon this they of *Quanſi* thinking they ought not to put up this Affront, refuſed to march into the Field: *If* (ſay they to thoſe of *Canton*) *you alone defeated the* Tartars

the last time, you may do it again the second time; see how they come now to present you with a new Victory: Go and rout them again, and then return in triumph into the City.

Guequan with all his credit could not accord this difference; he foresaw the mischief, which did hereby threaten both his Army and the City; but as he was a King only by Courtesie, and stood in need of those from whom he held his Grandeur, to support it, he could not so absolutely command, for he was not so absolutely obeyed. Those of *Canton* went singly to present themselves to the second Fight. The *Tartars* came against them extraordinarily animated, and in so good order, that the Militia of both Provinces would very difficultly have undergone the first Shock, and the Battel was scarce begun, when it was quickly perceived to which side the Victory declined. The brave *Cantoners* quickly fled, hoping to save themselves within the walls of their Town; but such was

their

their Misfortune, that the *Tartars* pursued them so close, that they entred pel-mel the City with them.

Guequan, when he saw himself as ill obeyed by those whom he led into the Field, as by those who refused to follow him, being surprized that the one run away so cowardly, and that the others to revenge themselves on those of *Canton* and *Xaochin*, neglected to succour them as they might have done, he only now took care to escape himself from the fury of the *Tartars*: He knew they would lose no time in endeavouring to seize upon him, & therefore he resolves to lose none in securing himself, but with all possible speed he retreats into his Province.

Assoon as the *Tartars* had entred the Town, being in a rage, they fully resolve to satiate themselves with the blood of their Enemies, & thereby they reduce that unfortunate City to a meer Shambles of Humane Flesh. The Massacre continued for several days; and the Victors who were exasperated up-

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on several accompts by their Revolt, Resistance, Presumption, that they they durst come and fight them, and by the Victory they had obtained, to the great disrepute of the *Tartars*, and by the Blood of their Nation which they had spilt in so great a quantity, they took all the vengeance which they thought ought to satisfie their Choler and Fury. Miserable City, which after so successful a beginning ought not so unfortunately to have drawn upon it self its own unhappiness and ruine!

Assoon as *Guequan* was returned into his province, he presenty reconciled himself with the King *Sinhianuan*. They were neither of them of opinion to let their private differences disunite their Forces, of which they had equally occasion; having to contend with so powerful an Enemy. Each of them thought now only how to defend himself in the Succincts of his Soveraignty; but scarce were these two Monarchs united in their friendship, when

when two new Kings ſtart up in the ſame province: They were two perſons who had nothing which could recommend them either by their Birth or Quality; and their whole Soveraignty was limited in the Juriſdiction of three or four towns, which acknowleg'd their Dominion. Thus the Royal Dignity heretofore ſo adored in *China*, was now become a prey to the Ambition even of the meaneſt perſons. In the ſingle province of *Quanſi* there was at the ſame time four Kings; and theſe who were only like ſo many Kings in Cards, or in a Play, yet they took upon them high Titles and Pretenſions.

It is believed that the two Kings laſt mentioned were *Mandorins*, who after they had ſcraped all the Money they could poſſibly from the people upon pretext of making warlike preparations, finding their Extortions would be no longer ſuffered, thought themſelves neceſſitated to cry and ſtand up for liberty. They thought they could not better ſtop the complaints of the poor peo-

people, but by declaring that they were ready to sacrifice themselves for to defend their Countrey, and revenge themselves of the Tyrant; and for this they offer'd to hazard their persons and their Fortunes; but that they might be better enabled to serve their Countrey, they must be Crowned Kings of *China*; to which the people readily assented, and now instead of Complaints, there was nothing heard but Applauses and Acclamations: But these Impostors did not much consider either their Countrey or Liberty, when they saw how rashly they had engaged in a business which surpassed their ability to manage, they quickly abandoned their Crowns. They considered not only how to benefit themselves by their Royal Dignity, by abandoning it to the *Tartar*, and deserting those who had declared them their Protectors. It is not to be wondred, that this miserable Nation should amidst such Treacheries and Deceits be so ruined. The Reign of these two Monarchs was not of a much longer continuance than

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in that Countrey a Comedy is acting; and these did not play their parts ill. They recollected together all they had pillaged, which made up a very rich Booty, and then retired themselves, being loaden with the spoil of those whom they had not only oppressed, but sold to their Enemies. Able and subtil Knaves know how to disentangle themselves out of any troublesom affair, and it is only weak and innocent persons who are miserable in this world.

The other Kings, *Guequan* and *Sinhianuan*, who were Princes of the Blood Royal, though in a very remote degree related to the last Emperour, continued more faithful to their Countrey; being endowed with more generous souls, they resolved to run the same hazard both of Life and Death with those who had acknowledged them for their Kings. Against these 2 Sovereigns the *Tartar* now marches. He was already entred into the province of *Quansi*, and in a little time possessed himself of the great City

Vechen:

Vecheu: It made some resistance, but as it usually did, it proved very fatal to those who undertook its defence. The City was sacked and pillaged; but the *Tartar* spared, as much as he could the Lives of the Inhabitants, because they had not very obstinately resisted; so that if any Murder was committed, it was only by some Accidents which are unavoidable in a Town which is sacked, and that by *Barbarians*.

From hence the *Tartars* passed to the other Cities in that Province, in which there was none which did not instantly upon the appearance of the *Tartars*, open their Gates. They made the more haste to submit, because it was reported that another Army of the *Tartars* was entred into the Neighbouring Provinces, and advanced with all speed towards them. These were Supplies which were sent to recruit and strengthen the Army which they had heard was defeated before *Xaochin*: But the Viceroy sent now orders to the General of that Army to retreat back into the Province whither he was com-

commanded before; for he had no occaſion for theſe new Forces, thoſe he had being ſufficient to compleat the entire Conqueſt of that Province, had it been greater than it was. The General upon the Receipt of theſe Orders, marched another way with his Army.

I muſt here take notice that there was a Rumour that ſince that, *Gnequan* was again entred into the Field, had obtained a new Victory over the *Tartars*, and retaken the City of *Vecheu*, in which the Vicercy then was; after which, he purſued him ſo cloſe, that he obliged him to retreat to the very Borders of the Province, where he ſtaid expecting Relief, that he might be able to regain what he had loſt. I could not poſſibly learn the truth of this Story, and therefore it is the leſs to be credited: But however it was, it is moſt certain that *Pelipaouan* had ſent very great Supplies both of Horſe and Foot, and that upon the Rumour of the Reſiſtance which was there made, ſo great a number of *Tartars*

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ran thither, that it is little likely the *Chineses* could gain any great advantage.

Neither have I been informed what these great Armies did in that Province; only in the General, that after they had over-run the whole Country, as a Torrent overthrows and carries away whatever opposes its Current, so nothing could withstand the fury of the Victors. This is all which the Relation saith, which was writ towards the end of 1647. But it doth not set down any particularity, but only that there was no more *Chinese* Kings after these two Princes dyed with their Swords in their hands, for the defence of their Country. This was all they could do, to prevent the oppression of their Subjects: But the People were not relieved, though the Princes thus readily laid down their Lives to endevour to preserve some part of the State. *Guequan* only gained a great Name and Reputation, which can never dye in the Memory of the *Chineses*, neither can their Grief, that they did not

not declare him King at the very beginning of the Irruption of the *Tartars*; yet there have been ſome *Chineſes* who have pretended that *Guequan* was ſtill living, and that he had expelled the *Tartars* out of the Province of *Quanſi*. There can only be in the Kingdom of *Caſtile* a *Don Pelage*, nor can there be another *Garcia Ximenes* but in the Kingdom of *Arragon*.

The *Tartars* by the reduction of this Province, compleated the Conqueſt of *China*: And the young *Xunchi* was Maſter of all the Fifteen Provinces which compoſe that vaſt Empire. This Prince at the Age of thirteen or fourteen years, was Soveraign of three moſt vaſt and puiſſant States, *Tartary*, *China*, and *Corea*, which though they be of ſo great an Extent, yet are contiguous one to the other, and are at preſent united into one State. All theſe ſpacious Countries were Conquered in leſs than four years; ſo that as it was formerly ſaid of *Alexander*, ſo it may be ſaid in our days of the *Tartars*, That they have

not

not made so many Conquests, as they have overrun and robbed Countries: It is most certain, that if these great Armies were only to have Marched over these vast Countries, it would have taken them up as much time, as it did to Conquer them: And if *Alexander* had ever heard of another *Xunchi* before him, he would with as much reason have envied him, as *Cæsar* did *Alexander*: *Cæsar* was troubled, that he began his Conquests only at that Age, before which *Alexander* had finished his: But that Conquerour himself, might have had as great occasion to complain, that he had done nothing at that Age, at which we hear our *Xunchi* had ended his Glorious Conquests. And if this Prince lives long, and still marches on as fast as he hath begun, either the World should be greater than it is, or else some new one must be discovered; for, according to the vast projects with which this Conquerour flattered himself after his Victory, the whole Earth is too little to give sufficient employment to his great Courage.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Disturbances in the Maritime Provinces. Some Chineſe *Princes retire themſelves into the Mountains. Others by Treaty make their peace with the* Tartars. *One who had conceal'd himſelf amongſt the* Bonzi, *diſcovers himſelf to the Viceroy, and is carried into* Tartary.

AFter that the whole Empire of *China* was entirely conquered, the Victors yet for ſome time, both by Sea and Land found ſufficient employment for all their Forces. The people who were newly ſubdued, but eſpecially thoſe of *Fochien*, *Canton* and *Quinſi*, made divers Inſurrections in ſeveral places. The *Tartars* did with greater facility retain under their obedience, and diſſipate the Conſpirators of the Inland Countries: But as for

those Rebels who took the Sea, and roved about the rivers, these gave them so great a disturbance, that they thought they could never have surmounted it. It is not that all the Attempts the *Chinoises* could make did much affright the *Tartars*; but these Incursions did continually disquiet and trouble them: These Rovers did not only disturb the *Tartars*, but they preyed upon their own Countrymen, robbed and pillaged the Lands of the Neighbouring Princes, and the Allies of *China*.

As for the other provinces which were more advanced up into the Countrey, and lay nearer to *Pequin*, where the *Tartarian* Emperour resided with his Court, there was not any commotion since those people first submitted themselves: But they lived as peaceably and as quietly as if there had been no alteration in the Government. But as for the 3 provinces of *Fokien*, *Canton* and *Quansi*, they being more remote from the Court, and the Souldiers which were commanded thither, having by their inhumane violences brought a most

moſt horrible averſion to their new Dominion, it was not poſſible to reduce things there into any order or peace. It is true, that as for *Quanſi*, I cannot tell what ſhould have ſo prolonged the War there, as in the other two provinces, unleſs it was the pretenſion that *Guequan* was up ſtill; and that he might the better watch his advantage, he had retreated with his Souldiers and Followers into the Mountains: But it would have been very difficult for this Prince long to have ſubſiſted; and being ſurrounded with ſo great a number of Enemies, it was not poſſible he ſhould eſcape, being met with by ſome or others, but muſt ſoon have been defeated, having no Forces to defend himſelf.

It was alſo reported that the King *Tanvan* did with ſome Troops ſtill defend himſelf in the province of *Fokien*, where *Pelipaouan* then was. This was that Prince whom the *Corſair Icoan* had cauſed to be Crowned after the death of the Emperour *Zunchin*, and undertook his ſupport and defence againſt

all the Force of the *Tartars*. This King of *China* was said to be still living. But the Relation calls him *Luvan* instead of *Tanvan*; which at first sight might give occasion to believe that these were two distinct Princes: But by the sequel it is manifest that this could be no other than the first *Tanvan* who was Crowned six Moneths before the *Tartars* entred into that province; for the Relation remarks, that the Prince who still supported himself, was the same who had governed that province in great tranquility the space of six Moneths; which can be understood of none but *Tanvan*, who was Crowned much about that time before the arrival of the *Tartars*. And there is little probability that after they had made themselves Masters of the Countrey, there should be any Prince who should reign peaceable six moneths, no not six hours. There could not therefore be any other King then in those parts but this *Tanvan*, who was believed to be dead, because he disappeared after *Ivan* was taken prisoner, though

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here the Relation takes notice that there was ſtill mention made of him; & perhaps this Prince had two Names, and this might occaſion his being ſpoke of as two different perſons: But this was the Prince whom the *Chineſes* ſaid to be ſtill living, and that he was retired into the Mountains, where he ſecured himſelf by often changing his Station and place of Retreat. It was alſo ſaid he had with him *Icoan*'s Son; as for the Father, there was no more mention of him: This young man is ſpoke of as a perſon who did his Prince very eminent Service: It is verily believed, he was a ſtout and couragious perſon, and gained a great repute, both upon his Fathers account, and having been inſtructed by the *Hollanders* at *Xacaſia*, in the exerciſe of the Art Military, as it is practiſed in *Europe*.

This is ſaid to have been the State of affairs in the province of *Foquien*; but it is ſcarce to be believed, that *Pelipaouan*, who was ſo puiſſant, ſhould let things long run thus: And this clear-

ly appears by the same Relation, which remarks, that the Governour did incessantly send very considerable Forces both Horse and Foot, out of this province into *Canton*; from whence it is evident, the King of *China* did not much disquiet him. All these Rumors, which had no very good ground, proceeded only from the shame the *Chineses* had to have behaved themselves so cowardly; for seeing themselves thereby reduced to that sad condition, they invented several Fictions, that they might be thought to be very courageous: But this Arrogancy benefited them but very little, nor those small Attempts they made that they might not seem quite subjected. The truth is, they were so very low, and in a condition so far from being able to restore themselves to their pristine Liberty, that to dare only to turn their head against the Tyrant, served only to exasperate him, and make him shed their Blood afresh, and shew them no Mercy.

It was in the province of *Canton*, where

where the *Tartars* found the greateſt trouble and reſiſtance, even after they believed themſelves Maſters thereof. And there was reaſon to believe that the Concern of the *Chineſes* might yet have a more favourable ſucceſs. The City of *Huchicheu* is one of the moſt conſiderable of the whole province, and there a Conſpiracy ſuddenly broke out againſt the *Tartars*. They had choſen for their Head a King whom they had Crowned upon this Deſign. This perſon had made himſelf very eminent by his Thieveries and Robberies, and theſe were his ſole qualities for which he was conſiderable: For even Thieves and Robbers, if they grow potent, are ſo far conſidered of, as to be regarded as Soveraign Princes. Thoſe of *Huchicheu* did very unfortunately fail in their expectations: They took up Arms upon the belief that the other Towns would have done as much in the abſence of the General, who was gone to conduct ſome Troops into the province of *Quanſi*; but none of the other Towns ſtirred, and they did

herein very wisely; for that City which did so unseasonably declare it self, was quickly sensible both of its Errour and Misfortune. The Thief whom they had acknowledged for their King, plaid the Thief still. He only now robbed these miserable and unfortunate people with greater authority; for he pretended they were obliged to support his Grandeur; and now he designes, if he can, to rob the *Tartars*; for this intent, he treats with them, and covenants to sell them his Crown, and his whole State, the City of *Huchicheu*; he comes and renders up himself to the Viceroy of Civil Affairs, who governed that province in the absence of the Viceroy of Military Affairs, and resignes up to him his Regal Ornaments, and was by the Viceroy received with all the Honour and Favour he could expect.

The honourable reception which the *Tartar* gave to this person, who came and thus rendred up himself, induced a Prince of the Blood Royal to take a Resolution to treat for the like accom-

accommodation for himself. He had concealed himself in the Province, and had refused all Enfignes of his Royal Dignity, though he merited them much better than the King of *Huchicheu*. He preferred the Crown of a *Bonzi*, by which he did some time disguise his Quality; for he was acknowledged by the whole Nation for a Prince of the Royal Family: But seeing with what danger the Regal Dignity was attended, he was not much ambitious of it. He withdrew himself into the City of *Canton*, and there stayed till the *Tartars* drew very near it; then he judged it more secure to retire himself elsewhere, and went and placed himself in the Monastery of the *Bonzi*, by whom he was very kindly received. These *Chinese* Monks seemed much moved at his Misfortune, and promised to conceal him with all the secrecy he could wish for. And to this intent, they cut off his hair, leaving him only a Circle round his head, which is that which I called his Crown, which I said he preferred before all others, and

and then they put on him the Habit of a *Bonzi*; this is the name of several miserable persons, whom the Devil deludes, and prevailes with them to retire themselves into solitary places, that they may there pay the greater honour to their Idols. In one of these Monasteries this Prince had now lived concealed, and the *Bonzi* proved very faithful to him, none of them offering to discover him to the *Tartars*; but he was not secure from fears and perpetual Alarms: He believ'd a Secret could not long be kept amongst so many of the *Bonzi*; for in some of these Monasteries there are sometimes five hundred or a thousand persons, and the greatest part of these kind of persons are not too much to be trusted or relied upon, though they make such an extraordinary profession of Virtue and Sanctity. This Prince therefore having heard that the Viceroy was a person of so much Honour, and so punctual to his word, resolves after he had first treated with him by some of his Friends, to go and render up himself

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to him. This he did, and the Viceroy failed not to receive him with all the Honour he could wish for: But all this kind reception did not secure him, that no attempt would be made upon his person; for till now the *Tartars* had put to death all the Princes of the Blood Royal of *China*, whom they could discover. It is true, there was not any yet, who relying upon their Parole, had delivered up himself to them; and perhaps upon this consideration, they thought fit, that they might better secure him, only to conduct him safe into *Tartary*; but he was still in hazard some time or other, to lose his life, that they might be out of all fear of him; a strange Justice which makes a man criminal, because those of the same Blood with him have been so unfortunate as to lose their Empire and Lives!

CHAP.

Chap. XIII.

The State and Condition of the Portuguezes *of* Macao. *They had continued Neuters between the* Chineses *and the* Tartars. *Their Fear lest the Victors should make some Attempt upon their City. They are better treated than they expected.*

BEfore we leave the Shore of *China*, to see what the Rebels did, who had taken Sea, I judge it convenient to give some account what was then the state and condition of the *Portuguezes* of *Macao*. This is a place of which they are possessed in *China*, and is one of the best and wealthiest Plantations they have in all the *Indies*. The City of *Macao* is situated in an Island some fourscore Miles distant from *Canton*, threescore of which are gone upon a large and beautiful River, and the

the other twenty by Sea. *Macao* is sufficiently known by the Relations of those who have made several Voyages thither from divers places in *Europe*. But perhaps it may not be unacceptable to have a Relation how the Inhabitants behaved themselves in this great Change of the Government of that State on which they must alwayes on necessity have dependance. The City of *Macao* cannot subsist but by keeping peace and a good intelligence with *China*, and with the Ruler in chief whosoever he be; for besides the great advantage and profit they make by their Commerce thither, which occasioned the building it about a hundred years ago, and hath since enlarged and enriched it, it can have no provisions for its subsistance but from *China*; so that if no Army should besiege it, and none should come to scale & undermine the wals thereof, yet of necessity they must perish, if the *Chineses* would but have the patience to reduce it by want of Necessaries. *Macao* is built upon a heap of Rocks; the Fields, Vineyards, and

and Olive-Gardens, and whatever places else furnish it with necessary provisions, are in *China*: All must come from thence, and it can no ways receive from any place else those things it stands in need of for its daily subsistance.

Therefore for all these Reasons the *Portuguezes* did very discreetly manage their Affairs with the *Chineses*. And it concerned them to be very prudent and circumspect, to keep fair so long with a Nation which is not to be paralell'd in the whole world for diffidence and distrust; yet the *Portuguezes* lived so well with these people, that they were as well esteemed of as the *Chineses* themselves, and they are the only Strangers with whom the *Chineses* could ever be prevailed with to have any dealings or confidence. But so great was the Friendship which the *Chineses* have shewed to those of *Macao*, that it had almost quite ruined the Town; for divers times they have been just upon declaring themselves, in favour of the *Chineses*, against the

Tartars:

Tartars: yet during the late War, they alwayes kept themſelves in a Neutrality, having conſidered what danger they had formerly run by being willing to ſuccour the *Chineſes* againſt ſo potent Enemies; which is manifeſt by the ancient Relations from *China*. But in this general revolution the peril was infinite greater; for all thoſe perſons who had cauſed themſelves to be crowned the Kings of *China*, failed not ever to demand aid and ſuccour from *Macao*, and there were always ſome of the Inhabitants who were inclinable enough to favour their Intereſts. But they had a more particular regard for that Prince who was Crowned at *Canton*; for there ever was a very cloſe correſpondence between theſe two Towns. Thoſe of *Macao* had received divers Favours from thoſe of *Canton*, and for this reaſon, the *Portuguezes* ſeemed obliged not to abandon their Friends in their diſtreſs; yet they conſider all the Succour they could ſend would ſignifie little, and it would infallibly draw ruine and deſtruction upno

on their City; therefore they resolve not to run the hazard of exasperating so dreadful an Enemy. It is good to consider upon weighty Affairs more than once; and whoever would not repent quickly, should not resolve suddenly.

The *Tartar* did so highly esteem of the Prudence of those of *Macao*, in not having, during this war, declared against him; that upon this sole consideration, he was stopped from making any attempt upon their Town: It is not but that they were in perpetual alarms: They knew that the Viceroy in Military Affairs at *Canton*, was very potent, that he was one who grasped at all, kept his Design very close, and one who was very perfidious, and therefore not to be relied on. He often appeared at Sea with a very great Fleet: He pretended it was only to go along the Coasts in chase of the *Chinese* Pyrates, but he often approached very near the City of *Macao*; and they themselves heard the Souldiers in the *Tartarian* Army declare publickly that it was

was not very difficult to pillage *Macao*; for nothing could hinder them whensoever they pleased. The Viceroy was not less zealous than his Souldiers to enter upon any Enterprize which might equally redound both to his profit and honour. This did not a little disturb the Inhabitants of *Macao*, who were upon this account diffident of his Intentions. But of several things which this great City had reason to apprehend, there were two which did principally seem to render its ruine inevitable.

The first was, the Fame of the great Treasure and Riches in *Macao*, which in former times there really was; but the War in *China*, and those Calamities which ever attend it, had now reduced it to a far different state. The whole wealth of that City consists in several rich and precious Merchandizes which the Inhabitants yearly receive from *China*, and transport them from thence into *Japan* or the *Philippine* Islands, and there in exchange they receive Ingots of Silver: But for the

eight preceding years, the Commerce had quite ceased; by reason of the war, they could receive no Commodities from *China*: And after the breach between *Portugal* and *Spain*, they had no liberty to go to the *Philippine* Isles. And the Emperour of *Japan* had throughout all his Dominions most rigorously prohibited all commerce with the *Christians*. Thus the Inhabitants of *Macao* were at a loss in all parts; for the profit was very inconsiderable, which they gained by any other Traffick; and without the Money of *Japan* and *Manila*, it was not possible to make any great advantage; so far was *Macao* then from being rich, that on the contrary, ever since those eight years, during which, the Trade ceased, it was brought to so low a condition, that it was believed that great City could not long subsist.

To this condition are the Towns and Factories in the *Indies* often reduced; for their whole Income and Harvest consists in the Transportation and Vent of their Commodities. If this com-

commerce ſhould fail for two or three years, they are then brought to great miſery and neceſſity: And this would be the ſtate of *Spain* it ſelf, ſhould it for ſome years be diſappointed in the arrival of its Fleets; for I may well take the liberty to ſay, that the Dew from Heaven doth not ſo liberally contribute to the making that a fertile Countrey, as the Water of the Sea, which brings ſo great a number of Veſſels thither from all parts. But it is true, theſe Merchandizing Towns do without any great difficulty, in a ſhort time recover themſelves; for there needs only two or three years of good Trading to ſupply them with plenty of all things, and by this hope and expectation, the Inhabitants of *Macao* ſubſiſted.

But how poor ſoever the Town was, it was ſtill reputed to be very rich, becauſe it really had been ſo a few years before. For in the year 1640. there came thither ſo great a quantity of Silver from *Japan*, that the King's Duties, which were Ten *per Cent.* amount-

ed to a hundred thousand pound sterling. And according to this Computation there must have been a Million sterling, which was more than came ever after from *Japan*. What Silver came from *Manila* is not computed in this Calculation, though there came some years above three hundred thousand pound from thence. The Renown of the wealth and riches of *Macao*, did endanger the Ruine of it; for the *Tartar* easily suffered himself to be perswaded into a belief of the truth of this Report, and without any further information, he did verily believe there was great Treasures hid there, and did not at all scruple, but that the pillage of that opulent City would enrich him for ever.

The other reason the Inhabitants of *Macao* had to apprehend their Ruine, was the knowledge they had that it was not necessary that the Design of forming any Enterprize against them, should be concluded upon in the Emperour's Council of State; for they saw all things depended upon the Capri-

priciousneſs of the General, who was very ambitious, undertaking and ſucceſsful, and whoſe Souldiers were nurtured up and accuſtomed to Outrages and Violences. Thus they were in continual fears, leſt they ſhould quickly ſee the *Tartars* come and aſſault their walls, and attempt to ſack and pillage their City, and if they were attaqued, it was impoſſible for them to make any reſiſtance, without utterly ruining themſelves; and ſhould they not with all their might defend themſelves, they muſt expect inevitable deſtruction.

Macao was very well fortified and furniſhed with great ſtore of Artillery, the Inhabitants and Souldiers were all *Europeans*, and perſons of great Courage and Reſolution; they reſolved, not to render up themſelves to the *Tartars* upon the firſt flight of Arrows, as the *Chineſes* had done. If the *Tartars* got the Victory, they would make them pay for it; for the *Portuguezes* were fully bent to maintain the honour of their Nation, in not eaſily ſubmitting to theſe *Barbarians*, who under-

ſtood ſo little the Art of War. They determined to make the *Tartars* know, that the reaſon why they gained ſo many Victories, was becauſe there was ſo weak oppoſition made againſt them, and to let them ſee that they muſt not expect to march over the world with the ſame ſpeed they had done over *China*.

But if *Macao* reſiſted, it muſt infallibly periſh: The *Tartar* was Maſter of all *China*, and as I ſaid before, it muſt depend, for its ſubſiſtance, upon the ſupreme Governour of that State; for it can expect no relief from any place elſe, nor any Succour ſufficient to protect it againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy. When they were driven to extremity, Neceſſity would compel them to deliver up themſelves upon Articles, if they could obtain any; and if they could, they muſt reſolve to open their Gates, and let in the Viceroy, and depend upon the performance of his Engagement to them.

But this *Barbarian*, who becauſe he was

was twelve hundred Miles distant from the Court, did not trouble himself with the observance of the Instructions he received from the Emperour to curb the Licentiousness of his Souldiers, would less have cared to sack and pillage *Macao*, and bring upon it all the mischief lay in his power. And though the peril was thus great to receive him into their Walls, it would have been greater not to admit him: See how the safeguard of *Macao* depended upon the Mercy of the *Tartars*, that is to say, upon persons who have very little, who acknowledge no Law, nor any Obligations, but what they please to impose upon themselves, who seldom enter into any Treaty or League with Strangers; and if they do, it is in such a manner, that they resolve at the same time to observe nothing that they promise.

Thus the *Portuguezes* had reason on all sides to dread the *Tartars*, who shewed them every day what mischief they could do them. They came often and presented themselves before

the Town, sometimes by Sea, sometimes by Land, on that part of *China* which lies neareſt to it. And they being Maſters of all the Countrey, except this place only, the Inhabitants judged the *Tartars* would think that one Town ought not to render imperfect the Victory they had made of ſo vaſt an Empire.

But God Almighty, who knows how to keep the City, even when all other power watches but in vain, ſhew'd that in the midſt of ſo many perils he would preſerve *Macao*. Though all we frail Creatures can do, comes ſhort of what we ought, yet God is often graciouſly pleaſed to accept of and reward our weak Endeavours, though they are but the operation of his Grace in us. The City of *Macao* had received and bred up ſeveral Faithful Labourers, who were gone to ſerve in Chriſt's Vineyard which he had planted in *Japan* and *China*, and had diſperſed themſelves amongſt ſeveral other Idolatrous Nations. Thus this City was a means to reveal the Name of God to ſeveral Na-

Nations who ſate in darkneſs; and it may very well be ſaid to have been a ſanctified Academy, a glorious Amphitheather, where ſeveral holy Champions exerciſed themſelves, that they might overthrow Idolatry, and obtain a Crown of Martyrdom. It was not full ten years ſince it pleaſed God to crown with Martyrdom in one day more than ſixty perſons, who all went from *Macao*: And if it may be permitted to ſay ſo, the Divine Providence was pleaſed by the defence of *Macao*, when it was in ſo eminent danger, to recompenſe the ſervice the Inhabitants thereof had done to the Church of Chriſt. And certainly the protection of Gods faithful Servants there, did much propagate the Glory of his Name. The Churches afore-mentioned, and ſeveral other Kingdoms depended upon *Macao*, to be furniſhed from thence with able Labourers, who might implant and ſtrengthen their Faith. Should *Macao* have been deſtroyed, the Fountain and Streams would have been ruined, from whence

their

their Instruction and Consolation flowed to them; and according to all humane probability, it may be said, that those Churches there newly planted, would have been all lost, the Gospel no longer preached in those places, and the glorious Beams of Gods Name would in a manner have remained eclipsed to these people.

But at last, by the Omnipotent assistance of the Almighty God, the Inhabitants of *Macao* began not to be in such dread of the *Tartars*, who now declared they intended no War against their City; but on the contrary, they desired that the Commerce should be continued between both Nations, as it had been formerly with the *Chinoses*. And for their further security, shortly after they sent to *Macao* an authentick Act or Instrument, whereby they did declare that all things relating to the Trade and Traffick should be established as before; and to this effect, they then granted all liberty and security to the *Portuguezes* to come to *Canton*, and there negotiate all their Concerns relating

ting to Trade; and permiſſion to the *Tartars* to carry all ſorts of Wares and Merchandizes to *Macao*.

The *Portuguezes* were then thinking to have ſent an Embaſſie to the Vice-roys of *Canton*, or if it had been neceſſary, to the Emperour himſelf, that they might more ſolemnly have ſetled the peace and liberty of Trade, and thereby have rendred their ſecurity more inviolable; but they conſidered, that all that Sea-coaſt, and the very Rivers were ſo infeſted with Pyrates, that there would be no ſafety for their Embaſſie without a ſtrong Convoy; and they were not then in a condition to put out to Sea ſo great a Fleet as would have been neceſſary upon this occaſion; but they were in hopes that their condition would improve daily. The *Tartars* ſeemed to be extraordinarily ſatisfied with the *Portuguezes* that they had not declared againſt them in favour of the *Chineſes*; and upon this account they were ready to make them any Return, or ſhew them any Civility, ſo great a value they had for their Friend-

Friendship. Thus God preserved the City of *Macao*, and hath been pleased ever since to continue his protection to it; for God is not like man, who begins, and grows weary of well doing: The Goodness of man is quickly drained, and their patience expired; but God is inexhaustible in the Riches of his Goodness and Patience, and his first Benefits are as so many Marks, or rather as so many Pledges and Assurances that he is still preparing new ones for us.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The Tartars *put out to Sea, and fight the* Corſairs *of* China. *A Treaty of Peace is propoſed, but broke by the perfidiouſneſs of the Viceroy. He is diſcovered to be a* Chineſe. *The natural Genius of that Nation.*

Though the *Tartars* had reduced under their ſubjection all the Continent of *China*, they were not yet Maſters of the Sea. But that they may ; we ſhall ſee them now engage with the *Chineſe* Pyrates: And now they will have their hands full, nor will they ſo eaſily ſubdue theſe new Inhabitants of as many floating Towns as they had Squadrons of Ships, with which they roved about, and ſcowred the Coaſts. But before the *Tartars* would undertake the Pyrates, they determine to conquer the Iſle of *Hainam*.

All

All along the Coast of *Canton* there are very many little Isles, which are only separated from the Continent by Rivers, and many of them are great Rocks uninhabited, and so near the Shore, that they are judged by many to be part of the Main Land of *China*. The most considerable of all these Islands is called *Hainam*, distant some eighty miles from the City of *Canton*, but so near the Shore of that Province, that in a clear day it is easily discernable from one end to another. The earth is so fertile, that it very plentifully produces all things necessary to the use of man: They fish likewise for Pearls, which are found there in great numbers; and besides, there comes from thence several other choice and rare Curiosities, as all the Relations of *China* remark. All the Island is not inhabited, neither are all the Inhabitants of the same Nation; for the Southern people are more rude, and do not acknowledge the Soveraignty of the *Chineses* over them, nor will they have any Commerce with them:

them: But in the Northern parts there are ſeveral *Chineſes*, three Cities, and eight Towns, beſides ſeveral other Houſes and Habitations ſcattered up and down, and this part of the Iſle is the moſt populous and rich.

The *Tartar* reſolves to make himſelf ſo much Maſter of this Iſland, that there ſhould be no Town or Habitation of the *Chineſes* but ſhould acknowledge him for their Sovereign; and for this effect he commiſſionated a General; and iſſued out Orders to him to paſs over with a very conſiderable Fleet of Ships: Notwithſtanding the little knowledg the *Tartars* had in Sea-affairs, yet they did with the ſame facility ſubdue this Iſland as they had done the reſt of *China*. The General, after this, ſetled a *Tartar* Governour there with a ſtrong Garriſon of Souldiers, and returned into the Province of *Canton*, loaden with Wealth and Honour; for he had much enriched himſelf in this Iſland; and though he was well paid for his pains with the plunder he got, yet in recompenſe of his ſervices there,

he

he had conferred upon him the Office of High Admiral, which the *Chineſes* call *Haitao*, and in execution of his Command, he preſently put out to Sea with a Navy of ſixſcore Ships.

After he had conquered the Iſle of *Hainam*, his deſign was to clear all the Seas of the Pyrates, who did moſt horribly ravage all the Coaſts; but more eſpecially the Province of *Canton*, that being the richeſt and beſt Province of all *China*; the *Corſairs* were thereby invited to make ſuch havock there. The *Tartars* fully determined to extirpate them all; but though they did their utmoſt endeavours, yet it was not ſo eaſie to accompliſh this Enterprize. At the firſt, when they were not very able Seamen, this Naval War ſeemed terribly laborious to them; for the *Tartars*, principally thoſe of the North, had never ſeen the Sea till they had conquered *China*, and traverſed over that great Empire. And having ſo little experience of the Sea, the very imagination of fighting upon that Element, ſtruck a ſtrange dread and apprehenſion

prehenſion into them; but valiant men will fight any where. The *Romans* were no better acquainted with Sea-affairs in the firſt *Punick* War, when they were neceſſitated to get an old Ship of *Carthage*, that they might build according to that Model; yet after they became ſo able Seamen, and ſo powerful at Sea, that *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*, at the Battel of *Actium* had a greater number of Ships than ever the *Carthaginians* had had in ſeveral years. The *Tartars* likewiſe preſently accuſtomed themſelves to all the Toils of the Sea, and were no longer ſick, nor to ſeek how either to manage a Sea-fight, or to go in chaſe of their Enemies; nay, they became very skilful Pilots.

The *Chineſe* Corſairs did not only rove about the Seas, but they went up the Rivers, which in thoſe parts are very deep and large. The firſt Ring-leaders who began to infeſt the Coaſts, were four eminent Pyrates, who divided their Ships into four Squadrons, in each of which it is thought there was

above ten thousand men: The greatest part of these kept upon the Rivers, where they plundred and seized upon all they could find on either side the Rivers, and did as much mischief to their own Countrey-men, as ever the *Tartars* had done; who now began to believe that it would be more advantageous to them to gain upon the *Corsairs* by Treaty and Propolals. To this effect, they propounded to them an Act of Oblivion if they would come to any reasonable agreement. The Pyrates did not reject this Offer; for there being little now left for them to plunder or pillage, either from their Enemies or Friends, they were content enough to make peace: But the *Tartarian* General was not of so peaceable a disposition, and therefore the Favour and Friendship he promised the *Corsairs*, was of no long continuance. During the time of this Treaty of Agreement, two of the principal Pyrates came ashore, that they might conclude upon such Articles which might equally redound to the satisfaction of both parties:

ties: But there yet remained ſomething upon which they could not agree, and thereupon the *Tartarian* General began to uſe violence, and ſeized upon the two Captains of the *Corſairs*, and enjoyned them upon pain of death to oblige all the other Pyrates to ſurrender themſelves to his Mercy. This unreaſonable procedure was not according to the approbation of *Xunchi*, who never intended his Captains ſhould deal ſo perfidiouſly; but the Viceroy, as hath been already remarked, was a perſon from whom greater Juſtice was not to be expected. His raſh and violent nature would not permit him to hear reaſon. It is alſo reported, that by birth he was not a *Tartar*, but a *Chineſe*, of the Province of *Loaotum*, which borders upon *Tartary*, and the greateſt part of his Souldiers were alſo as himſelf, *Chineſes*; but yet they endeavoured to paſs for *Tartars*. It would be ſcarce credible, that the *Tartars* ſhou'd grant to a *Chineſe* the Command of ſo potent an Army, in which the greateſt part of the

Souldiers were likewise *Chineses*; for few wise men approve the policy of putting so many enemies into Military Employments, and giving them so great Command in such remote Provinces; but this may be thus salved, the *Chineses* of *Loaotum* were distant from *Canton* more than twelve hundred miles, and were near Neighbours to *Tartary*, and consequently better acquainted with the *Tartars*, with whom they often conversed, than with the *Cantoners*, with whom they had no Commerce; therefore they looked upon them rather as Country-men, than those whom they only knew at so remote a distance, and that only by hearsay. This consideration may make it less to be wondred at, that the General should be a *Chinese*, and so likewise the greatest part of the Souldiers he commanded; for the Inhabitants of this Province looked upon those of another as so many strangers and forreigners, and therefore the *Tartars* the less apprehended that these should revolt in a Province so far distant from their

their own Native Countrey, in which they had left their Wives, Children, Parents, and all the reſt of their Relations, as ſo many Hoſtages, under the power of the *Tartarian* Garriſons, which they had there eſtabliſhed to ſecure their new Conqueſt. It was likewiſe rumoured that the Viceroy of Civil affairs was alſo a *Chineſe*, of the ſame Province of *Loaotum*; but this is not ſo certain as that the General was, whoſe inhumane cruelty is the more to be abominated, ſeeing he was moſt fierce againſt his own Countreymen.

It was not by any order from the *Tartarian* Emperour, nor to ingratiate himſelf with him, that the General took theſe violent courſes. That Prince was in his nature very far from commanding, approving or permitting them: But the *Chineſes* are naturally inclined to be very inſolent and fierce, even to their own Countreymen; and therefore there is no mean or moderation in their comportment towards one

another. They are all either Kings or Slaves: They will adore as a God, a man, of whose assistance they stand in need; and they will trample upon, like a Worm, any one who hath occasion of theirs; either they do with a most abject vileness crouch and crawl before their Superiours, or else with a most insolent haughtiness tyrannize over their Inferiours: The poor man is only regarded as a slave to the rich; and the rich acts, as well as he can, the Petty King or Tyrant. But that which is most to be admired at, is, that every particular person should be able to personate either the one or the other of these Extremes, according as it is most comformable to his present condition; for if one of these miserable Wretches of a sudden gains any Wealth or Repute, it is admirable to see how he will Lord it, as if he had been born and bred so all his life; and the like doth the rich man if he happens to be impoverished, they will most wonderfully suit themselves to their present state and condition, though it be never so unaccustomed to them. By

By this you may perceive that the Genius and humour of the *Chineſes* is to be inflexible and unmerciful to thoſe who depend on them, which is juſt oppoſite to the nature of the *Tartars*: This may be evidenced by the General at *Canton*, who was the more outragious, by being by birth a *Chineſe*. As for the humour of the *Tartars*, it doth much reſemble that of divers people in *Europe*; they are very paſſionate, hot, and quickly incenſed; ſometimes they are tranſported with paſſion, if they meet with any oppoſition, eſpecially if it be in any thing which relates to their Pleaſure and Luxury; for then their Choler tranſcends all the bounds of Reaſon; and this hath coſt the lives of ſeveral *Chineſes*, who endeavoured to prevent the rape of their Wives; but theſe diſorders are very ordinary, even in the Armies in *Europe*. As to any thing elſe, the *Tartars* delight not in ſhedding Blood; they are not of ſo ſanguinary a Spirit, nor were they ever inclinable to do any hurt or violence to any who gave them no offence, by

making resistance, or defending themselves. But the General and his Souldiers did incessantly, without any provocation commit Massacres in all places; and therefore it was observed, that the Souldiers who were the most mild, staid and reasonable, were those who were the real *Tartars*, and these were esteemed of as the most valiant and couragious; and the unreasonable Cruelty of the others was accounted a testimony of their base, cowardly and degenerous spirit.

The Viceroy with all his fierceness did thereby do no very good service to the Emperour his Master; for those who undertake to carry all things by the utmost rigour and severity, seldom prove very successful in the management of Affairs. A more calm and generous procedure is much more prevalent than all this passionate and precipitate violence. Brute beasts, who are void of all Reason, are mastered and tamed with force and violence; but certainly Man, whose Glory it is to be endowed with a reasonable Soul, well

well deſerves that Speech, Reaſon and Intreaties ſhould be employed to perſwade him. It is ſcarce credible what Miſchief this ill Conduct of the Viceroy did, attempting by theſe violent courſes to reduce the *Corſairs*: They did (as I have already ſaid) rove about the Sea and Rivers, to the number of forty thouſand, divided into four Squadrons; but now they had ceaſed from all Acts of Hoſtility, and had ſubmitted upon thoſe Propoſals of peace which were offered them. Two of the moſt principal amongſt them came aſhore to ſign ſome Articles to which they were agreed, when the General, a man of neither Faith nor Honour, did contrary to the parole he had given them, ſeize upon them, and without either ſenſe or reaſon demanded of them upon pain of death to oblige all the other Pyrates to ſubmit themſelves: It was not in their power to reduce the others; nor was this the Peace which was tendred them. Thus the perfidiouſneſs of the Viceroy kindled thoſe Embers which ſhortly after made

made such a Flame, that neither he, nor many more could quench it, though it was in the midst of the Waters.

There was no Bull nor Tyger exasperated, nor Serpent trampled on, more enraged than these *Corsairs* were assoon as they were informed of this Action of the General. They wanted nothing now, but to know how to moderate their passion; and to execute their resolutions as firmly and couragiously as they were hot and eager to declare them; they now renewed their first Acts of Hostility, but more violently and frequently than ever. This last perfidious Act of the Viceroy had alarm'd them in all parts, so that on the Land there was nothing to be seen but Houses burning, and on the Sea and Rivers, Ships roving about: It is thought there was above two thousand; so that supposing there were but a hundred men, Mariners & Souldiers, in each Vessel, thus there was in these two thousand Ships two hundred thousand men; which is a very formidable Navy, and surpasses most ordinary Fleets.

Fleets. The design of this great Army was, to free their Country from the Tyranny of the *Tartars*, who by the late Treachery of the Viceroy, were become very terrible and dreadful to them. Thus an imprudent Officer in power, by his ill management of Affairs, rendred a whole Nation odious, though before it was in good esteem.

The Viceroy, that he might not acknowledge that he had done amiss, seemed not to be concern'd at the great preparations the *Corsairs* made against him; it was his humour to be glad of any occasion to shew his Valour; and lest he should want, to create new. To give him his due, he was both valiant and successful in all his Enterprizes; but his cruelty and perfidiousness did both blemish and discredit the Glory he acquired thereby.

CHAP.

Chap. XV.

The Viceroy burns the Vessels of the Corsairs; *they return in greater numbers, pillage and ravage the Countrey, and compel the* Chinese *to quit the* Tartarian *Habit which they had taken. They assault the City of* Canton, *and are repulsed by the Viceroy in Civil Affairs.*

THE General at *Canton* was now engaged by force of Arms to reduce the *Corsairs*; and therefore because he perceived that their Forces encreased daily, he did with all possible speed put out to Sea with a Navy of fifty Ships, each of which carried sixteen peece of Cannon: And having provided all things necessary, he imbarqued himself with those Souldiers, on whose valour he most confided. The *Tartars* went now to a War, of which they

they had little experience; but having the example of their Viceroy, they went aboard very resolutely, that by their valour they might supply the little intelligence they had in this way of fighting, which was so new to them. They imbarqued so speedily and secretly, that the *Corsairs* had no information of it. The Viceroy favoured by the good Fortune which did usually attend him in all his Enterprizes, surprized the Pyrates in the Channel of a River, where the multitude of their Vessels did more inconvenience, than advantage them against the small number of those who came against them: they were so surprized, that they could not possibly make out to Sea as they desired, that they might have surrounded their Enemy. The *Tartars*, though they were but fresh-water Souldiers, yet they came in very good order, and assaulted the first they met with so vigorously, that they quickly disabled them for fight: The rest had neither the leisure to recover, or put themselves into any order; or had they any place either

either to retreat or fly to; for the Viceroy had blocked up the mouth of the River, and thereby stopped their passage. And that he might expedite his Victory, he presently set fire to their Vessels; and the Pyrates being in this disorder, and seeing no way left for their escape, they quickly routed themselves; for now they did in great confusion cast themselves into the water, that they might, if possible, save themselves by swimming to the sides of the River. And of all this great multitude, none but those who thus saved themselves, escaped either being drowned or burnt.

The Viceroy when he had assured the Victory, endeavoured to preserve a hundred of the best Ships, and burnt the rest. From thence he returned to *Canton*, where he had imbarqued, and to illustrate his Triumph, he caused the hundred Ships he had taken from the Pyrates, to be haled after him. At his Arrival the Town was filled with Acclamations of Joy, with which all the Inhabitants did congratulate and salute

ſalute him as their Liberator, and as one who had for ever ſecured them from all fear and apprehenſion of the *Corſairs*.

It is ſtrange that the *Chineſes* of *Canton* ſhould thus applaud the *Tartars* for the Victory they had obtained over the *Chineſes* who combated for the Liberty of their Countrey: And theſe Acclamations may ſeem to have been only feigned and baſe compliances of the ſervile people; but it is certain their Joy was not counterfeit, but ſincere, and they did without any diſſimulation felicitate the *Tartars* for their Victory: The reaſon proceeded from the horrible miſchiefs they ſuffered from the *Corſairs*, who not only roved about the Sea and the Rivers, but deſolated the Fields and Towns, leaving no reſpite to the Inhabitants of this Province, who were then all ſubmitted to the *Tartars*. But for theſe *Corſairs*, after the *Chineſes* had ſuffered all the Calamities to which Towns ſacked and pillaged by *Barbarians* are reduced, yet every one began to look upon his Misfortune

Misfortune as a Tempest which was now ceased. As for those who were dead, they were no more thought upon than dead people usually are; and all the Troubles they had undergone, were only now considered as a thing without remedy. There was nothing now to be seen all over the Countrey but bald Pates, and all the Inhabitants were cloathed after the *Tartarian* mode; willingly or unwillingly they must submit to the Law of the Victor; and if they governed themselves peaceably, for the future they need not fear to suffer from the Victor so great Afflictions as they had already undergone.

Though their troubles from the *Tartars* seemed to them to be at an end, the outrages they suffer'd from the Pyrates did but now begin. These were new Tyrants, and a new sort of *Barbarians*, which did incessantly renew the afflictions of these miserable people: At the first they only reviled and reproached them, calling them cowardly Traytors, for having abandoned their King

King and their Countrey to these Tyrants, as if they had voluntarily made choice of these new Masters: From injurious Words they came to Blows, and treated them with all the ill usage imaginable. In their fury and rage they perpetrated acts of that violence as transcended all the inhumane actions of the *Tartars*: They compelled the *Chineſe* to retake their ancient Habit; and to shew their authority the more, they obliged them to wear their Liveries. After they had pillaged and sacked all parts, they then fortified themselves in such Posts as they judged most advantageous, pretending they would there defend the *Chineſes* against all Assaults of the *Tartars*; but this only served to give occasion to the *Tartars* to return and plunder and spoil the unfortunate Inhabitants a second or third time; for the Viceroy was no sooner informed of what passed in those parts, but he instantly returned, and did more Mischief than ever he had before. And if the *Corsairs* made any resistance, then he was the more

outragious, and obstinately resolving to go through with every thing he undertook, he was sooner or later still victorious. As for the Pyrates, when they saw they could not defend those whom they ought to have better protected, they presently retook themselves to the Sea, and so abandoned these poor Wretches to the fury of an Enemy, who was the more outragious, because he thought he had so debilitated them, that they had not strength enough left them, so much as to crawl about. And when the *Tartar* missed of the *Corsairs*, on whom he might avenge himself, he punished the Innocent instead of the Nocent. It was in vain to alledge any Reasons to pacifie him, or justifie themselves: It was sufficient to make these miserable people criminal, because he had in his fury and rage declared them so.

The *Corsairs* returned twice or thrice, and made the Inhabitants of the Province of *Canton* change their Habit; and the *Tartar* as often pursued after them, and renewed all the Cruelties

ties and Inhumanities which can be imagined they ſhould exerciſe againſt Rebels. This gave occaſion to the Inhabitants of all the Towns and Villages which bordered upon the Rivers, to manifeſt ſuch an averſion to the *Corſairs*, and after their defeat, to give ſuch demonſtrations of their Joy, believing, that from thenceforth they ſhould be freed from them: For as for the *Tartars*, after the Calamities they had undergone from them, they expected to ſuffer no more from them: Therefore they evidenced all they could poſſibly that they did participate in the advantage which did accrue from this Victory; and for this reaſon, they received the Viceroy with ſuch applauſe at his entry into *Canton*, when he returned in Triumph for the Victory he had obtained over the Enemy they moſt dreaded.

The great Defeat of the *Corſairs* happened preſently after the reduction of the City of *Canton*: But it is not related in the Memorials which came from *China*, till after the Relation of

the entire Conquest of the whole Continent of *China*; to make some distinction, I suppose, between the Sea-fights and the Land-fights which the *Tartars* had with the *Chineses*. The *Tartars* took the City of *Canton* the 20th. of *January*, 1647. And after some days spent in providing for all things necessary for the Government of the City and Province, the Viceroy then put out to Sea, where he gained this great Victory over the Pyrates towards the end of *February* in the same year, and finding no Enemy in that Province to engage with, he passed from thence to the City of *Xaochin*, that he might subdue that, and the Province of *Quansi*, with all its Dependents. There it was that *Guequan* defeated the *Tartars*; but the Prince gained but little advantage by his Victory; for in a second Battel the Viceroy was victorious, and thereby made himself Master of the City of *Xaochin*.

It was much about this time that *Tolipaouan*, who commanded as a Soveraign Prince in these Provinces, recalled

led the General of *Canton* out of the Province of *Quanſi*; the Conqueſt of which he had before committed to his Management: He pretended his preſence was neceſſary in the Province of *Canton*, to reduce the *Corſairs* there; for the Relation remarks, that the Viceroy returned in the beginning of *April*, 1647. And it doth not appear, that he ever after went to the Conqueſt of *Quanſi*: Therefore it was another General who drove *Guequan* out of the Field, and compleated the reduction of that Province. The *Tartars*, who were not accuſtomed to be beaten by the *Chineſes*, were highly enraged at the defeat of the Viceroy at *Xaochin*; and *Pelipaouan*, who was the *Roaland* of *Tartary*, was more incenſed than any; and therefore he recalled the General: It is believed, he would not ſo ſoon have recovered the Advantages which he loſt by that Defeat, if he had not teſtified his Reſentment by preſently imploying a new Commander in the reducing and governing the Province of *Quanſi*.

During the time in which the General of *Canton* was absent from that Province, the management of all Affairs both Civil and Military, was committed to the Viceroy in Civil Affairs, who was a more intelligent and prudent person; but above all, eminent for his Zeal for the Service of his Prince, whose Authority over his new Subjects, he was very capable of maintaining. He was not less valiant than his Colleague, though not so hot and passionate: He had with him as many Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot as were necessary for the Guard of his Person, and of securing the peace of the Province. But the *Corsairs*, who were exasperated and enraged by their late Defeat, were now rallied together, and ready to enter upon some great Exploit; and being certainly informed, that the General was engaged in other parts, with the greatest part of the Forces, they believed the Viceroy in Civil Affairs was not able to defend the City with those few Souldiers were left him; therefore

therefore they reſolved to go and aſſault it; and one Morning by One of the Clock, they came up to the City, and preſently fired a great number of Veſſels which lay in the River, ſome of which belonged to the *Tartars*, and the others to the Inhabitants of the Town. In a ſhort time the Fire was ſo great, that to thoſe who were near, it ſeemed rather to be clear Day than Night. All the Veſſels which were either in the Haven or River, were all conſumed, except ſome few which were ſheltered by the Artillery, which was planted upon a Bulwark, to which they durſt not approach ſo near.

The *Corſairs* were now ſo certain of their Victory, that they were ready to make Bonefires: And that they might ſhew they were Maſters of the Town, they ſent to declare to the Townſmen, that they were come to fire all their Houſes, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and that they would not leave a man alive, to teach them what they had got by ſubmitting to the *Tartars*, contrary to the Faith

and Loyalty they owed both to their King and Countrey.

The Inhabitants thereupon, gave themselves for lost; but yet they resolved manfully to defend themselves: They received very couragiously those who came to assault them; but especially the *Chineses* of the Province of *Foquien*, of which there were many then in *Canton*, fought with a more than ordinary resolution; for they were the more animated, because they knew the greatest part of the *Corsairs* were of *Canton*, and there is a mortal Feud between the people of these two Provinces.

Upon this occasion, the Prudence and Valour of the Viceroy in Civil Affairs, made it evident that those who are employed in the management of Civil Affairs, are capable of managing Martial Affairs, and to obtain Victories in Battel. He presently took care to hearten and encourage the Common People, who gave themselves for lost: And therefore commanded them to go every one to his own house, and to sleep securely. It

It is my Duty (ſaid he) *to take care of your Safety; therefore rely upon my Care: I will go and draw up all my Souldiers in Battalia between the Walls of the Town and the Pyrates; and I engage to you they will not approach near your Walls ſo long as one* Tartar *is left alive; and do not believe they will eaſily deſtroy us all.*

And to ſhew how much he confided in thoſe Forces he had with him, at that very inſtant he went out of his Palace, drew off all the Guards, and commanded that the Gates ſhould be left open; from thence he went to the Gates of the Town, which he cauſed to be all opened; and at every one placed ſuch Commanders as he knew would defend them couragiouſly. After he cauſed all the Streets to be cleared, that nothing might impede the March of his Horſe to and fro. Having provided for all things neceſſary within the Town, he got up a Horſeback, and at the Head of his Men he placed himſelf by

by the River side, fully resolved, that whoever came to assault him, should be well received. They began to skirmish presently, and both parties were very hotly engaged: The Canons and Muskets plaid very fiercely; but especially those from the Bulwarks of the Town, which in a short time sunk several Barks and Ships belonging to the Pyrates, to their great loss. The *Corsairs*, who did not expect to have been so warmly received, had no great mind to prosecute their Enterprize, but retreated, or rather fled away; which was no small Joy to the Inhabitants, as likewise to see they had a Governour, who was as able to defend their City, as to distribute Justice.

It is said, that amongst the Ships which in this Engagement were burnt by the *Corsairs*, there was a Vessel which belonged to a King who was Tributary to *China*, and maintained the Liberty of his Subjects by paying every three years a small Tribute, only as a Mark of Homage and Fealty. This Ship, which was then going to carry the

the Tribute to *Pequin*, was unfortunately in the Port at *Canton*: There was in it about some sixscore persons with the Ambassador, forty of which were either burnt or drowned, ten or twelve were taken by the *Corsairs*, who made them Slaves, and presently put them to the Oar, that they might assist them in making good their Retreat; the seventy others saved themselves by swimming. The *Tartars* received them very courteously, furnished them with all Necessaries, till they had convenience of returning securely into their own Countrey.

CHAP.

Chap. XVI.

The Testimony which certain Christian Negroes *gave of their Religion in the presence of the* Tartars. *After which God Almighty miraculously preserves them in a Fight: The* Corsairs *continue to spoil the Countrey. The Viceroy in Military Affairs drives them out of a place in which they had fortified themselves, and stood upon their Defence. He ruines the Town, and all the adjacent Countrey.*

AMongst those Forces which defended the City of *Canton* against the *Corsairs*, there happened to be more than two hundred *Negroes*, of different Nations, but were all Christians, who had made their escape into *China*, from *Macao*, where they had been Slaves. At the beginning of the War, these *Negroes* were more than three

three hundred, and had all carried Arms againſt the *Tartars*, under the Command of the Famous *Icoan*, who confided more in them, than in the *Chineſes*; and alwayes kept them near his perſon, and they ſerved him with all the Valour and Loyalty he could expect from them, till ſuch time as he was defeated by the *Tartars*; at which time, ſeveral of them died with their Swords in their hands, fighting near his perſon. Thoſe which remained, which might be about ſome two hundred, afterwards took Arms under the Victors, and ſo happened to be amongſt the Forces which were in the City of *Canton*. The Viceroy and divers other *Tartars*, who had been Spectators of ſeveral gallant Actions which they did in the Combat, in which they repulſed the *Corſairs*, did in publick highly applaud them. The Viceroy was not only content, by the praiſe he gave them, to ſhew the eſteem he had of their Valour, but he likewiſe invited them to a publick Entertainment: And here it was that theſe *Negroes* gave ſuch

ſuch a Teſtimony of their Religion, that the Relation thought not fit to omit it. The Viceroy having cauſed to be ſerved up before them ſeveral ſorts of Fleſh-meats;

May it pleaſe your Excellency, ſay they, *you muſt know we are Catholick Chriſtians, and the Holy Catholick Church commands her Children to eat no Fleſh during* Lent, *which is a Term of forty dayes every year; and it being now that Seaſon of the year, we cannot eat thoſe Fleſh-Meats your Excellency hath preſented us withal: We highly eſteem, and are ſenſible of the Honour your Excellency hath been pleaſed to do us; but we beſeech you to permit us to obey the Holy Ordinances of our Religion; for we muſt declare, we have ſuch a Reverence for thoſe Holy Sanctions, that we believe we ought rather to die than fail in the Obſervance of them.*

Though this Particular doth not much import the preſent Hiſtory, yet it is related, that it may manifeſt to Chriſtians

Christians the great impulse of their Religion, which can create such courageous & generous notions in the Breasts of such despicable persons. Those Hereticks which hold the abstinence from Flesh which the Church commands at certain times, as an unnecessary Ceremony, and an Abuse, though they pretend to be Reformers of Religion, may yet learn Religion from these *Negroes*; or at least be brought with them to confess, that it is the property of Vultures and Ravens, and such other like ravenous Animals to live only upon Flesh; but Man, who is created for a more noble Life, ought in reason, at some certain times, to abstain from gratifying his Palat and Appetite: This the very *Tartars* acknowledged from the Light of Nature, though it did but obscurely glimmer to these *Barbarians*, who had neither a God, nor Religion. The Viceroy did not at first comprehend what the *Negroes* meant; but when he fully understood upon what account they refused to eat Flesh, he had the higher value for them,

them, and now he applauded the faithful Obedience they paid to the Injunctions of their Religion; all the other *Tartars* did the like, and declared that they had a greater esteem for this Declaration of the *Negroes*, than for all their gallant Exploits in the Combat.

God did not leave the Generosity of these Christians without recompense; for shortly after, in their favour, he shewed a Miracle, of which the *Tartars* took notice, and admired, to the Glory of the Catholick Christian Religion: Thus it was; Four dayes after the *Corsairs* were repulsed from *Canton*, they returned, and gave a new assault, but much more furious and fierce than the former; for before the greatest part of them fought only in their Ships, but now they Landed, and with all their Forces stormed the town. The *Tartars* who were commanded by the Viceroy in Civil Affairs, received them with their accustomed Valour. The Combat was fought with an equal Obstinacy by both sides, from Day-break

break until Noon. There was a great number slain upon the place; for all the time the Artillery plaid incessantly, and the Arrows showered down continually.

The *Negroes* who fought amongst the *Tartars*, failed not to maintain the Reputation of their Courage; and that they might do something for the glory of that Religion which they professed, they desired amidst so many brave and valiant Souldiers, to signalize themselves; and therefore they presented themselves in all places where the peril was greatest. At last the *Tartars* got the Victory; the Pyrates retreated in disorder to their Ships, and fled away. After which, the Field where the Battel was fought, was discerned to be covered all over with Blood and dead Bodies. There were great numbers of the *Tartars* as well as the *Corsairs* slain. The *Negroes* all assembled together, and seemed to have been invulnerable that day; there was none of them hurt or injured in the least: It did not appear that the

Enemies weapons had touched them in the least; and yet they were two hundred, who all fought where the Arrows, Musket and Cannon Bullets flew thickest, and where the greatest numbers had been slain. This did extraordinarily astonish the *Tartars*, who were eye-witnesses of their gallant Actions. This prodigy did not give a little repute amongst them to the Christian Religion.

The *Negroes* failed not to declare that it was from God alone that they had received this protection; and at that very instant, before they put off their Arms, they went from the place where the Battel was fought, to the *Jesuits* Church in *Canton*, to give praise to God for their preservation. Thus it pleased God to manifest his Glory, in not deferring longer to reward the Faith which these new Christians had shewn forth by their observance to the Ordinances of his Church. It is not that God was indebted to them this Miracle: God owes nothing to his Creatures, who are all his Vassals and Slaves,

Slaves, and of themſelves incapable of acquitting themſelves of the Duty they owe to the Almighty.

Ten dayes after this ſecond Defeat of the *Corſairs* before the City of *Canton*, which happened in the beginning of *April* 1647. there appeared before the ſame City a Naval Army of Souldiers, which had been formerly commanded by the renowned *Icoan*. This was part of thoſe Forces which he had offered the *Tartar* when he was taken priſoner, as hath been intimated before. There were only ſeventy Veſſels, but they were all in very good equipage, furniſhed with all Neceſſaries, and ſufficiently provided with both Souldiers and Seamen. Theſe men came to preſent themſelves with all their Veſſels to the *Tartar*, to ſerve him in the War which he had with the *Corſairs*; theſe were but the leaſt part of *Icoan*'s Souldiers: All the reſt, who had made their eſcape from the *Tartars*, had joyned themſelves with the Pyrates. In the time that this Fleet arrived at *Canton*, the General return-

ed from the Province of *Quanſi*, from whence *Pelipaouan* had recalled him. After this, he was only employed againſt the Pyrates, who gave him his hands full; and for the reducing of them, *Pelipaouan* could not poſſibly do any thing more advantageous than engaging this General againſt them.

The General was no ſooner arrived at *Canton*, but he was informed the *Corſairs* had reunited their ſtrength, and had Landed, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a great City called *Xuntè*, diſtant a dayes journey from *Canton*; that they had fortified this City, and ſeemed to be fully reſolved to ſtand upon their defence. This was ſufficient to make the General quickly take the Field: He preſently iſſued out Orders for the equipping of fifty Veſſels with all ſpeed; but he would not make uſe of any of *Icoan*'s Veſſels or men; for he was willing to ſhew that by his own valour he could ſubdue them without the aſſiſtance of Strangers. He preſently put out to Sea, accompanied with his beſt Souldiers, and engaged he would ſo

ſo handle the *Corſairs*, that they ſhould have no great mind to come and viſit him ſo near another time. He was not gone far before he met with a hundred of their Ships, which were *Chineſe* Men of War, great Veſſels, but of little ſtrength to maintain a fight: They were loaden with Straw, and other combuſtible Stuff, proper for the Deſign they had in hand, which was to fire thoſe Ships of *Icoan* which they knew were entred into the Service of the *Tartar*; but they had but bad Succeſs; the Veſſels which they came to fire, were ſecure, and they themſelves were only burnt; for the Viceroy with his accuſtomed ſucceſs, boarded them, and made uſe of that Stuff to burn them, with which they had deſigned to fire their Enemies.

The General ſwelled with Glory for the advantage which he had now gained without much hazard or toil, or loſs of time, purſued his courſe, to overtake the main Body of the Pyrates: He found that they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the City of *Xunte*, that they

had there fortified themselves, and made a shew of resolutely defending themselves. He presently Landed, and without loss of time, and consulting nothing but his Passion, he fell on to storm the Town. At this first Assault the *Corsairs* out-braved all their fierceness, and obliged them to take more leisure how to make a second. They returned a second time, but in more order, though with much heat and animosity; yet by these two Assaults he gained nothing, but on the contrary, lost many of his men.

The *Tartar* grew desperate to see himself thus received and handled by a company of Raskally Free-booters; for the *Chineses* as well as the *Tartars* gave them no other Title, though they fought in the defence of their Countrey against its Usurpers; but in all places the strongest are best esteemed of. Though the Viceroy had hitherto still been so victorious, yet now he was at his Wits end, to see that one single Town, in which there was neither a King, nor any considerable person,

ſon, who commanded in chief, but defended only by ſome pilfering Raſkals, ſhould be able to maintain it ſelf againſt two Aſſaults, and kill a great number of his men: But notwithſtanding, he reſolves either to carry the place, or periſh in the attempt. Thus the *Tartars* by their firm reſolution were alwayes victorious; and the *Chineſes* were ever overcome, becauſe they were neither ſtedfaſt nor conſtant in the management of their Enterprizes.

The Viceroy aſſaults it the third time, and now he did it with all the might and force he and his men were capable of. The *Corſairs* did but weakly defend themſelves; for the greateſt part were already thinking of making their Retreat. At laſt the *Tartars* enter the Town, which they did moſt horribly deſolate: They thought it not ſufficient to ſack and pillage it according to their uſual cuſtom, unleſs they maſſacred likewiſe all ſorts of people they found therein, as well the Inhabitants as the *Corſairs*, who had entred the Town, and thoſe whom they had

compelled in by force. There was an innumerable multitude slain in that place; but the General did not think himself sufficiently avenged by the ruine of that City; but that he might fully discharge his Fury and Rage, he pillaged and ruined ten other neighbouring Towns, though they had not at all assisted or contributed to the Rebellion of this place.

The spoil and plunder of this Town was very rich; for several who expected, it should have defended it self better, had brought all their Wealth thither. The *Tartars* herewith enriched themselves, and likewise seized upon the Pyrates *Ships*: They preserved the best, with which they encreased their Fleet, and burnt all the rest, which were very many in number.

The barbarous Cruelties which the Victors executed even upon them who gave them no provocation, served only to raise them up new Enemies, who saw they had as good die as suffer more misery. This is the third time that the Neigh-

Neighbourhood of *Xuntè* had been ſucceſſively pillaged by the *Tartars* and *Corſairs*. And it is certain, that if the Emperour had been made acquainted with all theſe Oppreſſions of the people, he would have chaſtiſed the General, that he kept no better order; but this Commander had ſuch intereſt at the Court, that the Emperour was only informed what Towns he had taken, knew not that he had ruined and deſolated the Countrey; and therefore, the General, inſtead of hearing that he was complained of there, ſaw he was the more conſidered, as if thereby he had merited much, and done his Prince good Service. This gained credit to the report that the General was rather a counterfeit *Chineſe*, than a natural *Tartar*; for this manner of making war, and enhancing the fame of his Victories, was more like a *Chineſe*, than a true *Tartar*.

CHAP.

Chap. XVII.

The Corsairs *trouble and perplex the General. They possess themselves of the City* Tunquam, *and maintain it against several Assaults. They deliver it up upon composition. The Cruelty of the Generals Souldiers.*

THE *Corsairs* hereafter never left the General in quiet: It was in vain to hope to conquer them; for his abominable Cruelties made them ever return both more potent, and more numerous; for one Bark which he destroyed, there returned thirty, and for one man, a hundred or two. These are the very Terms of the Relation, which remarks that the Sea and Rivers were covered with ships and men, as if it had rained armed men from Heaven. Some fled to the Pyrates for refuge, not being able to

to be longer ſpectators of the Cruelties which were exerciſed upon their Countrey-men; others came to avenge, if they could, the death of their Fathers, their Children, and other near Relations, the loſs of their Eſtates, and the honour of their Wives, Daughters, or Siſters. And innumerable other perſons came in to them, who knew not how to put a more acceptable period to their burdenſome Lives, and conſolated themſelves, that they ſhould there meet with a death more deſirable, or a life leſs miſerable: They hoped at leaſt whilſt they were at Sea, they ſhould be at liberty for ſome time to take breath; and they did not deſpair, but they ſhould be able to do ſome eminent exploit, whereby at laſt they might avenge themſelves on the *Tartars*.

The Viceroy likewiſe ſeemed, as if he deſigned to give theſe miſerable people no reſpite. He preſently put out to Sea, as if he was reſolved not to let one eſcape him; and being informed that they were betwixt *Lantao*, which

which is a little Isle just opposite to *Macao*, and the City of *Anslan*, in one week he thrice went into this Road in search of them; but still returned without meeting them. It is believed, he had no great mind to meet with them, though he went to seek them out. This is a Stratagem often practised by Politicians. There was a great report that the Pyrates were extraordinary powerful, that they had a well regulated Army, that their Vessels were filled with desperate men, who were resolved either to conquer or perish, after they had sold their Lives at a dear rate; therefore the Viceroy, not thinking it would be for his advantage to have such a rencounter, he returned thrice without finding them, or rather without seeking for what he had no mind to meet wit.

Once at last, when he was just ready to enter into the City of *Canton*, he had intelligence that the *Corsairs* had possessed themselves of a place distant some two days journey from that City. Then being necessitated to put out to Sea,

Sea, he returned at that very inſtant, with a great many Veſſels and Men, and preſented himſelf before that Town: There he found that the Alarm which had been given him, was falſe; therefore he returned highly diſpleaſed (as he ſaid) that he had found no Enemy to fight with; but perhaps he was not ſo much afflicted at it, as he pretended: This was only the ſubtilty of the man, who was willing to diſguiſe his fear.

The Number and Forces of the Pyrates encreaſed daily, and the Relation ſaith, that they were almoſt as innumerable as the Sand of the Sea. Theſe terrible Armies did inceſſantly rove about, and infeſt all parts of the Province of *Canton*, and gave the Viceroy more buſineſs than he deſired. Now he is not ſo hot and reſolute as he was before: He learnt by experience that he muſt be neceſſitated to change his conduct; to which he was inclined by the advice of the Viceroy in Civil Affairs, who was a prudent perſon, and underſtood better than he to deal with

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the Pyrates. These two Chiefs concluded that it would be more available, to be less fierce and hot, and more circumspect and prudent in the managing of the War. They placed Guards at the Gates of all the Towns in the Province, where there were none before; there they examin'd all who came in or went out; for they knew that the *Corsairs* had Intelligence in all the Towns, and that their Confederates were busily employed in hatching some great Conspiracy. Thus the *Tartars*, who before made a mock at all the *Chineses* could do, were not now so confident and couragious as they had been. They had reason not to be so; for the League and Combination of these *Corsairs* was like a terrible *Hydra*, which instead of seven heads, had more than seven hundred thousand.

They judged it likewise convenient, to make a new renumeration of people in all the Towns; but especially in *Canton*, that they might see if there was more or fewer than in their first Registers. After which, they made an

an Order that no Master of a Family should retain any more Domesticks than what they should allow of, and whose Names were registred, and these were no more than were precisely necessary for each Family.

This War of the Pyrates had brought most miserable calamities upon the whole Countrey, in which the *Tartars*, as well as others, had their share; for the Land lay waste and uncultivated, and there was none in the Countrey, who durst venture to carry that small Crop they had into the Towns; for let them go which way they would, they could not avoid meeting either with the *Tartars* by Land, or the Pyrates by Water. The Countrey-men therefore would not carry any provisions into the City, which occasioned great want and scarcity there. The Souldiers, by the General's permission, were scattered and dispersed all over the Countrey, and seized upon all the provisions they could meet with. This compleated the ruine of that Province. And if

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at any time some of the Countrey people to preserve any thing from those which persecuted them at home, run the hazard to carry it into the Towns, they were no sooner entred, having escaped all the dangers of the ways, but they were seized upon to row in the Navy; and many times before they could reach the City, the *Corsairs* had apprehended them upon the same account; for on both sides there was a prodigious number of Vessels, which both sailed and rowed; and for this they stood in need of a great number of men to tug at the Oars.

These Outrages could not be committed without very frequent Murders and Massacres throughout the whole Countrey; and these were so numerous, that the description of the desolation of this Province, would require a whole History. The putrid bodies did so infect the Air, that it occasioned a cruel Plague. Thus these miserable people were afflicted with War, Pestilence and Famine; all these calamities came upon them at the same time, each of

of which would have been ſufficient to have ruined this once flouriſhing Province, ſo that the richeſt, plentifulleſt, and moſt delicious of all the Provinces in *China*, lay moſt diſmally ruined, in compariſon of what it was formerly, and ſo it remains to this very day; and it is ſaid all this miſchief aroſe only from the ill conduct of the General; for this raſh man, by his cruelty drove the people to deſpair; and he was not only content to give an ill example, but he gave ſuch licenſe to his Souldiers, that thereupon they flew out into the height of wickedneſs, and committed the moſt enormous Villanies. I remarked before that he was called *Ly*, who firſt began the deſtruction of that vaſt Empire, and reduced the Emperour *Zunchin*, out of deſpair, to deſtroy himſelf. The word *Ly* from henceforth will be remarkable in *China*, for having been the name of two ſuch eminent Tyrants; yet the *Chineſes* pretend, that the name of *Ly*, from the two Letters of which it is compoſed, ſignifies High Endowments of Wit and

Virtue. But the Viceroy had no better a repute for having had so fine a Name: And it might have been said to him, as a Souldier once said to *Alexander*, that he should either change his Name, or change his Actions.

This Commander, who some few days before was return'd so discontent, that he had neither met by Sea nor Land any Enemy to fight with, had quickly occasion to come out of his ill humour; for he received News that that the *Corsairs* had Landed at a place distant some two days journey from *Canton*, and had made themselves Masters of the City of *Tunquam*. This was a place the best fortified and furnished with provisions of any in the whole Province. He was likewise informed, that they had begun new Works, and were putting themselves in such a posture of defence, that they might annoy whosoever made any Attempt against them, and receive little dammage within their Walls. The *Chineses* are very ingenious, and will take pains: And having observed that the

Tartars

Tartars in all their Assaults, came exposed to all dangers, and took no care to cast up Works to shelter them from the Cannon-shot; they made their Fortifications in that manner, that their Enemies should have no great desire to approach very near them: they built their Walls with Battlements, and pierc'd them through with divers Loopholes like the Port-holes in ships, for the Great Guns to play through. In some places of the Wall they cut down Slits from the top to the bottom, and built up several Scaffolds, upon which they placed several Tire of great Guns, just as in a man of War.

The Viceroy no sooner received this Information, but he put out to Sea with a very potent Fleet. The number of his Vessels is not known; but promising himself that he should quickly put a period to the War, he came to that intent with his greatest force. He presented himself before the City of *Tunquam*, and Landed his men, resolving presently to fall on; but neither he, nor his Souldiers, who

were to give the Assault, were well pleased to see so many Tire of great Guns so well Manned, and so many Gunners standing just ready to give fire upon them; but not being accustomed to shew any fear, & having ever made his brags that he would raise Mountains where before there were Vallies, he was not now backwards, with his usual animosity, to give the Signal for the Assault. The *Tartars* fell on very resolutely; but they were no sooner approached near the Wall, but they perceived it was the stronger and better fortified, by the more Holes it had in it. Now all the Artillery play'd against them, and made a most horrible Massacre amongst the Assailants, who were come up to the very mouth of the Cannon, and did not believe they were prepared to give them such another Discharge; when not leaving them time to consider how to make good their Retreat out of all these Crannies, there showered amongst them such a storm of Bullets and Arrows, that the Ditch was presently filled up with dead

and

and wounded men, and those within the Town received no dammage.

The Viceroy was so obstinate, that during the first dayes he lay before *Tunquam*, he gave several Assaults to it; but thereby he only lost both his Time, Credit and men. And though he attempted it with all his might, he could not lodge himself upon any part of the Rampart: He had now need of all his good fortune to enhearten him; for he was mad and enraged, he knew not either what measure or resolution to take: He saw he advanced but little either by strength or Stratagem; and he knew he should lose both his Reputation and dignity, if he did not with honour succeed in this Enterprize. He began now more calmly than was usual with him, to take a prospect of his Affairs. He perceived he had lost many of his best Souldiers, and that those which he had left were neither numerous nor valiant enough to carry the Town; he sent therefore to demand recruit from the Viceroy of Civil Affairs, and some great Guns to

batter and make a Breach in the Wall, with some Canoneers of *Europe*.

These Canoneers which the Viceroy sent for, were eight or ten men of *Europe*, who some few years before went from the City of *Macao*, to serve the *Chineses* against the *Tartars*. After, when they saw in what a low condition the *Chinese* affairs were, and not knowing what to do in the remotest parts of that Empire, being more than twelve hundred Miles distant from *Macao*, they resolve to take employment under the *Tartars*: And they did such eminent Service, that they were highly esteemed of by all that Nation. It is very remarkable, that though the *Tartars* knew that they went from *Macao* to serve the *Chineses*, yet for all this, they did no injury to the *Portugnezes*. They considered that so few persons ought not to make them think that the whole Nation had declared against them, but that these were Souldiers of Fortune, and only such, as for their particular advancement, had cast themselves into the *Chinese* Army. It hap-

happened also that these Canoneers discoursing with the *Tartars* of the state and condition of *Macao*, the *Tartars* expressed a great affection for the *Portugueezes*, and for all the *Europeans* in general; and having after gained great repute with the *Tartars*, by the great Services they did them, they were thereby enabled to do, and did several good Offices to the Inhabitants of *Macao*.

The Viceroy in Civil Affairs received the Letter from his Colleague in the Evening, and the very next Morning he dispatched away a considerable Supply of both Souldiers, Gunners, Artillery, Ammunition, and all other provisions; and this he did with that diligence, that the difficulty of having Ships for their transportation, and necessary stores so soon in a readiness, did not retard them. These Recruits must be sent by Sea, and therefore they ought to be strong enough, not to be stopped by any Squadrons of the *Corsairs*, should they meet with any in their passage: With this expedition

do Recruits march in *Tartary*, where they are not so long a making ready as in *Spain*, where they seldom arrive at the place to which they are designed, till it be delivered up, or too late to execute the Enterprize they go upon. The disadvantages which have sometimes accrewed to *Spain*, from their wasting too much time in their Deliberations, may give just occasion to say, That their too slow resolutions have only served to expose them to the derision of those other Nations whom they know to be the most jealous of their Glory and Grandeur.

The Supplies were no sooner arriv'd, but the General caused several strong Batteries to be raised, with which he incessantly battered the Walls, and made a terrible breach. The great Guns from the Town plaid as briskly. After this, the *Tartars* gave a new Assault, and now the besieged did not only drive them from their Walls, but resolutely sallying out against them, they routed and pursued them to their Ships, into which, that they might get,

they

they were forced to go up to their very Necks in water.

Now the *Chineſes* had the ſatisfaction to deride the *Tartars*: *Theſe invincible Victors* (ſay they) *are now defeated, and forced to run away to their Ships. The Conquerors of* China *have the Courage to turn their Backs to the* Chineſes.

Thus they ſcoffed at the Viceroy; and for all his eagerneſs to avenge himſelf quickly, he was forced to take it patiently now; but he loſt no time; for aſſoon as he had reproved his Souldiers for running away ſo cowardly, he encouraged and animated them, that they would with all poſſible expedition wipe off this diſhonour to their Nation. He Landed again, and at the the very inſtant gave order to his Gunners to take ſuch care in traverſing their Guns, that they might anſwer his expectation. His Orders were executed with the ſucceſs he deſired; for the Cannons were pointed with that exactneſs, that in a ſhort time they diſmounted

mounted several pieces of the besieged's Artillery; and they fired incessantly, till they disenabled all the rest.

Now the *Corsairs* began to sink in their Courage; and this made the General take heart, and hope well: But yet he wished they would come to some composition; for having experienced the besieged to be both valiant and skilful Souldiers, he did not desire to drive them into a desperate condition. The Pyrates, who had now almost spent their Powder, did as earnestly desire to capitulate, and to gain fair Terms; and they themselves sent to the Viceroy, to offer to deliver the place up to him, to put what Garrison and Governour he pleas'd into it; only upon this condition, that neither he, nor the rest of his Souldiers would come into the Town. The General having engaged his whole Reputation upon the success of this Enterprize, was ambitious of nothing more than to come off with honour; and therefore received

received the Propoſals very joyfully. He appointed preſently what Garriſon & *Tartar*-Governour ſhould remain in that place, and took order for their entrance the next day; but the Pyrates were not ſatisfied that they might rely upon the General's word, and fearing leſt he ſhould take ſome pretext or other to revenge himſelf on them for their reſiſtance, they reſolved to make their eſcape that night: All in the Town who were able to carry Arms, followed them, and there only remained in *Tunquam* Women, Old men and Children, and ſuch perſons who were unfit for War.

The *Tartar* expected the next Morning the Keys of the Town ſhould have been brought him, that the Garriſon he deſigned to place there, might march in; but the Gates were already open, and the Town abandoned to his Diſcretion. He entred into the Town, and ſhewed no violence or ill uſage to any perſon he found there. It was not his nature to be ſo mild, eſpecially after he had been ſo incenſed as he had been

been before this place; and therefore leſt he ſhould forget his own natural diſpoſition, he failed not to diſcharge ſome part of Choler upon the Neighbouring Towns and Villages, which he ſacked and pillaged. He committed ſuch horrible Cruelties, that thereby he more than ever exaſperated the whole Province againſt him. One of theſe Villages ſtood upon its defence; but at laſt, upon the engagement that they ſhould receive no prejudice, they ſurrendred themſelves; but the Souldiers which marched into it, did moſt treacherouſly violate the parole which had been given them: They began to injure and abuſe the poor Countreymen, at which they were ſo enraged, to ſee that the promiſe which had been made them, was not obſerved, that they took up their Arms, and fell on upon the *Tartars*; and in their fury they killed divers, and routed the reſt, who made their retreat with what plunder they could carry away, to a Hill not far diſtant. The General ſent his men a recruit, that they might entirely

tirely subdue the poor Countreymen; but they had made their escape to a place where they could receive but little dammage. The Souldiers dispersed themselves all over the adjacent Towns, and pillaged and massacred the miserable people, who had already submitted themselves, as if they had been declared Enemies, or rebellious Subjects. The Viceroy saw all this Disorder, and contented himself to say, he had no Money to pay his Army, and therefore was necessitated, for their subsistance, to let them do so. Therefore it was to no purpose for those who suffered, to make their Complaint. *Rome* burnt, and *Nero* in the mean time diverted himself with the Cries of the miserable Inhabitants.

CHAP.

Chap. XVIII.

A Discourse of the Viceroy in Civil Affairs, upon the Cruelty of his Colleague. The Corsairs *still perplex the* Tartars. *The* Chineses *improve themselves in the Art of War. The Northern* Chineses *are of a different Genius from the Southern.*

THE Viceroy in Civil Affairs, who knew what horrible Mischief the Souldiers did, was as much concern'd at it as the *Chineses*; but it was not in his power to remedy it. He saw plainly that these violent actions did not do so much hurt to the *Chineses*, as they prejudiced the Affairs of the *Tartars*. Once he opened his heart to Father *Sambiase*, Superiour to the *Jesuits* at *Canton*; to whom he spoke in these Terms;

The Rebel Cham (this was the chief of

of the *Corſairs*, who had the ſame Name with one of the firſt Tyrants, but was not the ſame perſon. The *Chineſes* took great notice of the conformity of the Names of thoſe perſons who began, and of thoſe who continued the deſolation of that Empire; for the *Tartarian* General was called *Ly*, and the chief of the *Corſairs*, Cham; *The Rebel* Cham (therefore ſaid the Viceroy) *commands the Army of the Robbers by Sea, and the General Ly the Robbers by Land. The one doth as much miſchief as the other; the Province is ruined, and all places therein are utterly deſolated; and I cannot imagine what will become of either it or us: All places revolt and conſpire againſt us, and they have reaſon to do ſo: For my own part, I ſhall endeavour to juſtly acquit my ſelf in that Office in which the Emperour, my Maſter, is pleas'd I ſhould ſerve him. I will ſerve him faithfully to the loſs of my life, rather than fail in diſcharging my Duty: I know I ſhall periſh in the end; but if ſo, that my death cannot be available to reduce Affairs into better order, you ſhall*

ſee

see that after my Life is taken away, and my Colleague Ly *shall have the sole disposal of the Province, what care he will then take for the subsistance of the Souldiers, and preservation of the People.*

This Declaration the Viceroy in Civil Affairs made of his displeasure to see how things were governed; but he had done better, had he opened his mind to the King his Master, who was neither locked up so close, nor so difficult of access as the *Chinese* Kings used to be. And it may be he did write; but those Letters which the General sent to the Court were more prevalent, and byassed all Affairs contrary to the Viceroy in Civil Affairs. The General pretended he was necessitated to use Rigour, but he did it only towards the Rebellious *Corsairs*, and not to the People, which had submitted themselves: And the Court being tired out with this obstinate War of the *Corsairs*, they did not believe this Rigour was prejudicial; but on the contrary,

trary, that nothing could have been of greater advantage than the employing so inflexible and fiery a man as the General was. To put this gloss on things, was the ready way to encrease the Mischief, and make the Cure hopeless: Those who oppress others, never want persons to applaud them; and those who are oppressed, never find any to protect them: We are wrongfully inform'd of the truth of things, either because we will not give ear to it, or else because it is wrongfully represented to us. Deceit and Falsehood marches in triumph in all places, that being generally managed more dexterously and subtilly, and listened to by most persons with more pleasure. Thus States and Nations are often disturbed, nay, ruined, and it cannot be discerned, that it was, or was not occasioned by the fault of the Prince who governed.

The General could not yet bring the War with the *Corsairs* to a period. They continually so alarm'd him, that he knew not which way to turn himself,

but tormented him so, that it was able to have distracted him; sometimes they came in search of him up to the very Gates of *Canton*; and after they had pillaged and plundered all the night, the next morning they were all vanish-ed: Their Vessels being lighter, they had the boldness to surround his Ships, and assault them, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. They allarm'd him one place, whilst they were executing their Project in ano-ther. And sometimes he was scarce re-turn'd from the Chase of them, but they returned to the same place from whence he had expelled them; for that they might the better take their advantages, they had placed very trusty Spies in all places. Thus they always succeeded in some part of their Enter-prize, whilst the General was gulled and abus'd, in being perswaded to go in search of them where they never were. This was a very pleasing divertisement to this fierce Fellow, who thought to carry all things by his turbulent and capricious humour. There were in this province

province ſome people who were ever ſo unfortunate as to be on the wrong ſide; theſe bore the brunt of the fury of both ſides. Thus all thoſe great & gallant Cities all along the Coaſt, have been ruined, their Buildings reduced into a heap of Rubbiſh, and are become the deplorable remains of deſolation and deſtruction: They were deſerted and abandon'd by their Inhabitants, the greateſt part of which, were either killed or murdered, and the reſt choſe to forſake all, and retire themſelves for their ſecurity, up higher into the Countrey.

The *Tartars* themſelves ſuffered in part by that miſchief which they themſelves had occaſioned; for beſides the Affront and Vexation to ſee the *Corſairs* for their pleaſure, thus abuſe and torment them, they ſtood oftentimes in need of Neceſſaries. They thought there would never be an end of imbarquing continually, which was to them a new exerciſe, to which they were not very well accuſtomed. The General in one of theſe Incurſions happened

pened to seize upon a very eminent Pyrate, who was of great repute for his Valour: He took him by surprize, and the cowardliness of his Followers, who then deserted him, and brought him to *Canton*, and in the open place there, shot him to death with Arrows. This was no great loss to the *Corsairs*, who had persons enough as valiant as he whom the General had now put to death; and the *Tartars* no more advanced their interest thereby, than he did, who thought to diminish the Sea, by taking a drop of Water out of it.

The General did not stay in *Canton* above four and twenty hours after he had taken this *Corsair*, before he put to Sea again. He was no sooner aboard, but he commanded to set Sail without any other Declaration what Course he would steer. He did thus several times, that the Pyrates Spies might not discover his Designes; and sometimes, not believing he could be precautious enough, he took the Helm himself, and ordered his Navy to follow him whatever

ever Course he should steer. He was most certainly a person highly endowed with all the qualities befitting a Souldier, was indefatigable, and took no rest: But his violent and bloody Actions often lost him more than he gained by his laborious Toil. And it is manifest, that in the late Combates, the *Tartars* were often worsted, and the General himself beaten and defeated, which did both embolden the Pyrates, and encrease both their number and Forces. It is likewise reported, that in this Province they had possessed themselves of several Villages, Towns, and Cities, which before had submitted to the *Tartars*, and that the General could not gain any considerable advantage against them either by Sea or Land, though he assaulted them with a very strong Army of both Horse and Foot.

By this it is credible, that had the *Chineses* been trained up in Martial Discipline, they might have made as good Souldiers as other Nations. They are generally very strong and vigorous,

active and Industrious, will undergo Labour and Toil, love to be employ'd, and are generally mortal enemies to Idleness, which is particularly remarked in the Provinces which are adjacent to *Tartary*, where they are most commonly engaged in War. This is related by several persons of *Europe*, who say, they could never have believed them capable of doing such extraordinary actions as they have seen them do, had they not been Spectators. And it is believed, the *Tartars* would not with so much facility have made themselves Masters of those Provinces, had they not found the people in disorder and division, occasioned by the Troubles of a Civil War; where instead of a Lawful Soveraign to rule over them, several Tyrants had brought a horrible confusion and disorder over the whole State; in which all persons were divided into several Factions, by their different Tenents of Loyalty and Rebellion. The *Tartars* finding these people so little able to make any resistance, and they having strengthened their

their own Forces with divers *Chineſe* Troops, who ſided with them, under their General *Uſanguè*, from hence it happened that they conquered thoſe Provinces with greateſt facility, which elſe would have coſt them moſt Blood and Difficulty.

As for the *Chineſes* in the Southern Provinces, which are more remote from *Tartary*, they are ſoft and effeminate, beyond all the Inhabitants of *Aſia*; and that which did produce this Effeminacy in them, and was a great cauſe of the ruine and deſtruction of their Empire, and ever will be to all other States, was the profound Peace and Security in which thoſe Provinces had been ſo long involved; for ſeveral ages there was no mention of War in all the Relations and Hiſtories of thoſe Provinces. They were ſo ignorant of Navigation, that they only knew what Tempeſts and Shipwrack ſignified, by ſeeing the deſcription of them in Pictures. This Nation which ſo little troubled themſelves with Arms and War, paſſed all their life in indul-

ging their ease and their pleasures. Vicious Crimes were all their occupation, neither could Ignominy nor Correction check these Disorders; for they considered nothing but plenty and prosperity in this Life, having neither a God nor Religion, at least such a one as did not restrain them from giving themselves wholly to their luxurious passions.

But it is credible it was not so much Peace and Effeminacy, which ruined the Empire of *China*, as the little esteem that Nation had of warlike Discipline and Souldiers. The *Chineses* valued nothing but Literature and Sciences. Any one who was accounted a learned man, would have trampled upon twenty of their Captains, who were obliged to suffer patiently this injurious Affront. There always went with the General who commanded their Armies, some Learned Doctor, on whose direction all things depended: The whole Army obeyed this Learned *Mandorin*: It was he that gave out all the Orders, and not the General.

General. They were all Scholars, and perſons eminent for Learning, who compos'd the two Councils of War of that State: And they only were admitted who were beſt able to plead ſome Argument in their Law, and not thoſe who knew how to draw up an Army in Battalia.

The ill Conſequences of this manner of governing were foreſeen long before. The Hiſtories which were many years ſince printed in *China*, took notice hereof, and hereupon gave advice of ſuch importance as deſerved to have been liſtned to: But this advice was little available to thoſe who would not believe the miſchievous conſequences hereof till it was too late to remedy them. Military employments and exerciſes were ſo vilified, that moſt perſons ſcorned to accept of them. This Profeſſion was totally relinquiſhed to ſuch miſerable Wretches as could get no other employment; and theſe perſons never hoped to be advanced thereby. They knew too well there was neither Honour nor Profit to be

expected

expected in the Army; for both these were totally engrossed by the Learned men, who gained higher promotion by the explication of some point in their Law, than by gaining a great Battel; so that those who came to have any employment in their Army, were persons of little worth: Those who were, out of anger to see themselves thus unworthily dealt with by those, whose employments they judged of far less importance, quickly deserted the Service, and quitted their employment, without concerning themselves for the interest of either their Prince or Countrey. Nay, it is well known that some Generals have declared, they had rather assault a Fort in *Tartary*, than to go and present any Memorial to the Emperour of *China*'s Court; and that they more dreaded to appear before one of their *Mandorins*, than to be in the midst of an Ambuscade of their Enemies.

It cannot be denied, but that the destruction of the Empire of *China* arose from hence. The *Tartars* have several

veral times declared it: And for this reaſon, aſſoon as they were poſſeſſed of the State of *China*, they inſtantly entred into a Method of Government juſt oppoſite: It is not, but that they knew that each of the Extreams were faulty, but that they might at laſt fix themſelves in the true Mean, they judged it neceſſary to paſs from one Extream to the other, which the *Chineſes* likewiſe did; who from ſo ill Souldiers as they were at firſt, by their effeminateneſs, and of ſo little eſteem for any Military Atchievements, became at laſt to be all Souldiers and Warriors. And thoſe who would not ſubmit, did ſo totally relinquiſh their Effeminacy, that all their delight was now in War and Arms. They thought that was only to be accounted Honour and Glory, which was acquired by gallant and great Exploits. The *Chineſes*, though late, manifeſted, that naturally they wanted neither courage, dexterity, nor ability to be excellent Souldiers. And in the laſt Engagements they had with the *Tartars*, the Relations report that they

they vilified and despised their Bows and Arrows, and relied more upon the use of their Muskets and Fire-Arms, which charged and discharged very readily, and handled their Pikes and Halberds most advantageously, and with all this they were well versed in the Art of Artillery; but this was the Misfortune of the *Chineses*, that they did not sooner put themselves in a condition to have given their Enemies some considerable Defeat.

They kill'd and slew where-ever they came, and failed not to fame abroad, and pursue the least advantage they gained in the Late War. The *Tartars* likewise did their utmost endeavour to support the reputation of their Arms: But Fame is too talkative to make them conceal the Actions of the *Chineses*. The Inhabitants of those Towns which had submitted, from whence the Intelligence of all that passed, came, did not move at all; but were struck with amazement and silence, which gave occasion to many to doubt whether it was fear or hope which

which kept them in such suspense. They saw some little glimmering hope of Liberty, but they saw great occasion to make them apprehensive lest the *Corsairs* should advance higher up into the Countrey; for where-ever they came, they drew after them the *Tartars*, and with them all the Afflictions and Calamities which had desolated and depopulated those Towns which bordered upon the Sea.

The Viceroy *Ly* was not satisfied to see that his Affairs did not succeed according to his wish. He did his utmost endeavour to prevent the encrease of the Mischief; but the Pyrates were so numerous, and so dispersed in all parts, that he could not be with them in all places; neither could he raise as many Forces as were requisite; for he saw that at every Engagement, he had need of a compleat Army: Therefore he did all that lay in his power to keep them as far distant from *Canton* as he could, that thereby he might still remain Master of the Sea. He happened

ed once to have advice, that the *Corsairs* had taken a place very near that City; he instantly went towards them with a Navy of a hundred and seventy Ships: And according to his usual custom, he threatned to die the Sea and Land with the Blood of the *Corsairs*. But the Effects of this great Choler fell only upon some miserable wretches, who little thought they had done any thing to have exasperated him against them. The *Corsairs* having notice that he was coming towards them, sack'd and abandon'd the place. This was all the diversion they designed at this time to give the Conquerour, who presently poured out all his fury upon this unfortunate place; which he reduced to Ashes, that it might never serve again for a retreating place to the Pyrates.

CHAP.

Chap. XIX.

The Corſairs *take a little Fort near* Canton, *having engaged part of the Garriſon to ſide with them. The Viceroy in Military Affairs diſcovers a new Plot in another Fort. The manner how he puniſhed the Traitors.*

THE *Corſairs* after they had been driven from the Neighbourhood of *Canton*, left this City in quiet for ſome time; but not the General *Ly*, whom they kept in continual exerciſe on one ſide or other. One day, when he was abſent, being in purſuit of ſome of their Squadrons, others of them returned preſently to *Canton*: The fourth of *Auguſt*, 1647. in the Evening, ſeventy of their Barks came and caſt Anchor at the foot of the Wall of one of the Bulwarks of the City. They had already ſecured to their party ſome of

of the Guard which kept the Fort. And therefore they were not discovered till Sun-rise, at which time several of the Great Guns were discharged against them from the Fort. The Traitors within had perswaded the other Souldiers that they were the Kings Ships, which came from pursuing the *Corsairs*, and therefore no body took the Alarm sooner. But the Pirates, who stormed the Fort at several places at the same time, quickly made themselves Masters of it. The greatest part of those who kept it, presently sided with the Victors, and quit the *Tartarian* Habit, and put on a Coat edged with yellow, and a high crown'd Bonnet edged so likewise, which is the usual Head-covering of the *Chinese* Souldiers. The rest, who would not do so, were all put to the Sword. There was in this Fort great store of Artillery, and other Arms, with Powder and all sort of Ammunition. The Pirates took some part of the smallest peeces to furnish their Ships with, and flung the rest into the River. As for the greater

ter Peeces, which they could not ſo eaſily remove, they diſabled them from ever doing them any hurt. This Fort could not be very near the Town; for the noiſe of the Cannon was not heard thither, and it was not known that it had been aſſaulted till eight of the Clock the next morning, when a Boy who had made his eſcape, brought the firſt News thereof.

The Viceroy in Civil Affairs, who then commanded in *Canton*, could not credit the ſurprizal of that place, till he was better informed by thoſe he ſent thither to that intent. They preſently brought him back word, that the *Corſairs* had made themſelves Maſters of the place, and that they were endeavouring, with the loſs of no time, to make it very tenable: The Viceroy inſtantly marched out againſt it, with a very numerous Army of both Horſe and Foot, fully reſolving to regain that Poſt. He ſtormed it ſeveral times, and in all the aſſaults which were made by both ſides, fought very reſolutely: Great Numbers were ſlain up-

on the place, but still most on the *Tartars* side, who came on without taking any care to shelter themselves. At last the *Tartars* are obliged to retreat without obtaining the least advantage. And it is manifest, though the Relation is silent herein, that after the Pyrates abandoned the Fort, as they had already done in several other places, that they might betake themselves again to the Sea, they shewed they had no mind to keep it, when they took out part of the Artillery, and disabled the rest. Had they not retreated already, the General, who was now returned to *Canton* with his Army, would not have failed to have employ'd all his Forces to dislodge them from that Post. But though he returned very triumphantly, it doth not appear he did any eminent exploit in those parts.

The Viceroy in Civil Affairs stood very diligently upon his Guard, whilst he saw the Enemy so near him; and mistrusting that the Pyrates might hold intelligence in the City, as they really did,

did, he was so fortunate, as to apprehend a Spy, who was a Servant to the General of the *Corsairs*; he put him to the Torture, where he confessed that there was really a Conspiracy against the *Tartars*, and the chief Manager thereof was the great *Calao*: This was one of the highest dignities in *China*, and superiour to a Viceroy. This *Calao* was called *Chim*, and was aboard one of those Vessels which had surprized the Fort, where he staid expecting a numerous Supply of Souldiers, who had all by an Oath obliged themselves either to perish in the Attempt, or restore *China* to its pristine Liberty.

From henceforwards the Viceroy in Civil Affairs, and all the other Magistrates were very cautiously watchful, lest they should be surprized; for this effect, he appointed such Captains to command the Guard at all the Gates, of whose fidelity he was most secure. And he himself undertook the guard of the principal Gate of the City, and went night and day thorough the City, to visit all the other Guards, exhort-

ing them both by his words and example to watch over their Enemies, who slept not. He commanded out several other Captains with their choicest Souldiers in their Companies to guard those Posts and Places from whence he foresaw the enemy might likeliest attempt the Town.

The indefatigable diligence of the Governour, and the deposition of the Spy, occasioned other *Chineses* to be apprehended, who were suspected to be Complices in the Conspiracy. Assoon as these were put to the Torture, they presently avowed that all that the Spy had averred was true; that really they had conspired to deliver up the City to the *Corsairs*; that the Fort which they had lately seized upon, was delivered up to them by the treachery of those who kept it; that the like would happen at a Fort near that, where two hundred Souldiers of the Garison were contriving to let in the *Chineses*. All these commotions did not at all disturb the Viceroy, but by his prudence he mastered all. It is certain,

that

that the ability of this man prevented more Miſchief, and preſerved the *Tartars* more Towns than the General with all his Valour could conquer. And there is not leſs ability requiſite to retain and preſerve what we are poſſeſſed of, than there was at firſt to acquire it.

The Governour of *Canton* being informed that there was a Plot laid in that other Fort, went thither with all diligence; but without ſhewing that he knew any thing: He entred with a Countenance ſeeming to be fully ſatisfied; and then he declared to the Souldiers, that becauſe the preſent urgency of Affairs obliged them to keep ſuch ſtrict Guard, becauſe the Enemy was ſo near, he would, to encourage them, gratifie them with an Augmentation of their Aſſignment, and encreaſe their Pay; and that therefore they ſhould come one after another to be entered in the Regiſter, and receive their Pay. They went the more readily, imagining their Treaſon was not diſcovered, becauſe the Viceroy, who might have

seized them if he pleased, bestowed this Liberality amongst them, to engage them, as they thought, to serve him the more faithfully: And by his Aspect and manner of speaking to them, they could not collect any thing which might give them the least occasion to suspect him. They entred by one Gate, at which they received part of their Pay, and they went out at another where they were paid for their Treachery. The Viceroy had placed at the last Gate his greatest Confidents, and those whom he had entrusted with his secret Designs, and such as he knew would resolutely execute the Order he gave them; so that as fast as the Traytors came to this Gate, they met with those who stabbed them, and cut their Throats. And this Execution was managed so subtilly, that the two hundred Conspirators, who should have delivered up the Fort, all lost their Lives in such a manner that they did not perceive the Misfortune of their Companions. The Guard of this Fort was intrusted to new Officers and Souldiers,

ers, who were both more numerous, and such as the Viceroy was more secure of their Fidelity. This was not ill-contriv'd for a Gown-man; and if all the Lawyers of *China* had been as able as he was, perhaps the Emperour and the Empire had not been lost so soon.

It was quickly known how necessary it was that the Viceroy should have employed all the diligence and resolution which he made use of in this Expedition; for scarce had he concluded the punishment of the Traytors, but but besides the sixty Vessels which lay before the Fort first mentioned, there was seen under sail a new Navy of more than two hundred Ships. These were they to whom the Conspirators should have delivered up the place. Assoon as they perceived that they could do nothing, they came enraged up to the very City, and threatned to put all to the Fire and Sword, and leave no man alive. The *Tartars* were well prepared to receive them, and made up to them assoon as they were Landed.

They instantly engaged, and the Encounter was managed with great animosity on both sides. The *Tartars* at last gain the advantage, and the Assailants retreat, but not far from the Town, only out of the reach of Cannon-shot; there they lodged themselves, and kept the Town besieged on that side next the Water. This was the greatest mischief they could then do the *Cantoners*; for being Masters of the River, they put a stop to all their Provisions, which they could receive no other way.

The Viceroy, who was now surrounded with secret and declared Enemies, and at that time when the General was absent with all the best Souldiers in the Army, thought himself now necessitated to employ all his Abilities to maintain and defend himself; for this effect, he thought he must secure the Brother and Cozen of the great *Calao*, who was the Head of the Conspirators: And therefore he seizes upon, and imprisons them, and obliges them to write to the great *Calao*, that

that if he did not within three dayes retreat from before the Town; they were condemned to loſe their Heads. He ſummoned likewiſe all the ancient *Mandorins* to appear before him, whom he enjoyned to ſtay near his perſon, that he might employ their Credit, and that he might by all ways imaginable endeavour to prevail with the *Calao* and the Rebels to retreat and leave the Town in peace and quiet. If the Viceroy only threatned them that he might affright them, he was not blameable; but if he intended to execute his Menaces, doubtleſs he was both unreaſonable and unjuſt. He exacted that from the Priſoners which lay not in their power to accompliſh, and he condemned them to death though they were innocent. No Law commands an Impoſſibility; and can it be a crime not to do it? It was not in the Priſoners power to do what the Governour deſired. The *Calao*, and the other Conſpirators knew, that if they retreated, they expoſed both their own Lives, and the Lives of all their Relations

tions to more eminent danger; and therefore they thought they ought not to abandon their Enterprize: This procedure of the Viceroy struck a great terrour all over the City, and all the Inhabitants staid very silently within doors, expecting what the Issue would be of all these Treasons.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

An Allarm in Canton *at the Approach of the* Corſairs. *The Conſternation of the Inhabitants. The General arrives, and routs the Beſiegers. The Inquiſition after the Conſpirators, and their puniſhment. The reſolution of a* Chineſe *Captain, his Death and Praiſe.*

THE Viceroy in Civil Affairs gained nothing by his Rigour and Severity, by ceaſing to carry himſelf with moderation and equity, and making uſe of thoſe violent courſes which he had ſo often condemned in his Colleague; he only encreaſed the number and ſtrength of his enemies; for he had ſcarce begun his violence, but he ſaw a much greater number of the Barks and Veſſels of the Pyrates come thundering againſt him, inſtead of ſixty which came before the firſt Fort, and

two

two hundred which approached near the other. There might now be counted a thousand Vessels either before or near the Town. And all this numerous Army, by the continual discharge of their Artillery, made such a terrible Thunder, that all the Houses in *Canton* seemed ready to be shaken in pieces. The Bells rung, the Drums beat, and the Air resounded, and all the Elements in general seem'd to be in a commotion, and to hold some part in this terrible Consort. But the better to imagine the horrour of all this jangling noise, let us reflect upon the noise of the Cannon in some Merchants, or other ships, when they celebrate any Festival, and then consider what was the thunder of all the great Guns in above a thousand Vessels, which fired incessantly, what was the clashing of Arms, and other warlike Instruments in two potent Armies, which contended who should strike the greatest terrour into their enemy; and what a hideous jangling there was of an infinite number of Bells of different Sounds, some louder,

louder, some lower, some sounding hoarse, and some sharp and shrill, that they deafned the Ears of all the Inhabitants and Neighbourhood of the City.

The *Cantoners* gave now their City for lost; and the fright into which the Pyrates put them by their late menaces, made such a horrible impression in their imagination, that though they were *Chineses*, and their own Countrey-men, yet they expected no succour but from the *Tartars*, whom they looked upon as their Protectors and Avengers. The whole City was in Arms, by the order of the Viceroy, who issued out a Command, that no person should appear, upon pain of death, but in the *Tartarian* Habit; and commanded all his Officers to kill immediately all they found in the *Chinese* Habit. He caused all incumbrances to be removed out of the Streets, that his Horse might freely march without any hindrance up and down the Streets. The Gates, Bulwarks and Walls were all covered with Souldiers, who did incessantly

inceſſantly diſcharge their Muskets and Fire-Arms, that they might make the greater ſhew of Reſolution in the face of their Enemies. But of a ſudden they were ſurprized at the arrival of the General. He returned conducted by his good Fortune, with his Army whole and entire, and entred the City with the Sound of Trumpet. He met not with the Enemy, the greateſt part being incamped on the other ſide of the City; and he did not perceive them till he was paſſed by them; for they were retreated into a place where they were covered by ſome Hills which hindred the ſight of them.

The *Corſairs* were not leſs ſurprized to ſee the General return with all his Army at that time, when they believed him ſo far diſtant: And being in great diſorder, and ſo not in a condition to give Battel, they durſt neither go up to him, nor ſtay for him, though they were the ſtronger. The firſt Reſolution they took, which uſually is not the moſt generous, was to run away. Some of their Veſſels began to retreat

in

in disorder, and the others, which thought they must do so too, followed them with that haste, that they fired not one of their great Guns against the Viceroy's men, who pursued them, to the incredible satisfaction of all the Inhabitants of *Canton*; and now the *Cantoners* prepared for triumphal Recreations, and to see the sport of the Bulls, in as great security as before they were in fear and dread.

The Run-awayes fled with such haste, that they left behind them their greatest and best Vessels, out of which they withdrew the Souldiers and Seamen, and what else they could, because these were too heavy and slow to follow the rest. The Viceroy pursued them with all the Sail he could make, but could not possibly reach them; for their Vessels were much lighter, and their Rowers more expert, and in better breath, and did beyond comparison exceed those of the *Tartars*, who were poor miserable Countrey-Fellows, compelled to it against their will.

The

The General, after he had for some time been in chase after them, returned back again, and then seized upon those Vessels they had left; and entred in great glory and triumph into the City, where he was received as their Liberator; and as if he had been sent from Heaven to succour them in this their urgent necessity. The Viceroy in Civil Affairs, who had likewise delivered them out of a very intricate danger, went before him, and accompanied him through all the streets of the City, which they passed through in the midst of a great Crowd of People, who could never weary themselves with praising and applauding him. And though it was broad Daylight, yet there were Torches lighted in all the streets and places through which he passed, and Odors and Perfumes were burnt in all places, as if some of their *Pagods* or Idols had been marching through the Streets. But to what a person do they burn Incense? And what doth not Necessity and Flattery induce miserable people to do? After

After all these publick Rejoycings and Feastings were over, the Viceroys busie themselves in searching out the Accomplices in the Conspiracy; which was not like that of *Cataline*: For they did not design to oppress, but deliver their Countrey; and yet there was very exact and diligent Inquisition made. The *Chineses* are very dexterous in concealing and dissembling the Affairs of their Nation, and speak very sparingly and advisedly of things of the least importance: And whoever discloses a Secret, is accounted a publick enemy, and a persecutor of his Countrey. But assoon as they are put to the Torture, the first pain makes them proclaim all they know: They love themselves too well, to love their Friends to that degree, as to suffer any pain upon their account. They do not intend to pay so dear for their Friendship.

Therefore assoon as the first who were apprehended, were put to the Torture, instantly all the Conspirators were discovered; some were only pri-

vy and consenting to the Conspiracy; others were Sticklers and Principals; but the *Tartars* presently cut off the Heads of both the one and the other. This is their ordinary way of punishing all criminal persons, without making any distinction of either Crimes or persons; it was sufficient they had all deserved to die.

After this first Execution, the *Tartars* looked more narrowly to keep a strict Guard at the Gates of the City. And to this effect, they appointed new Captains with Souldiers of approved Fidelity: They used all imaginable circumspection in shutting and opening the Gates; they altered and changed often both the time and manner of doing it, that they might the better be assured they were kept close shut, that thereby they might manifest to all who should yet entertain any thought of a new Conspiracy, that they were not remiss in keeping strict Guard. They carefully examined all who went in or out, and made them discover what either they brought in or carried out.

All

All these Precautions, and the sudden Execution of the Conspirators, kept all the people in amazement, and made them that they knew neither what to think or say. Each of the Inhabitants was in a continual apprehension that some or other who designed to do them mischief, should publish their Names amongst the Conspirators; for there needed no other manner of proceeding to make any man lose his Life. And there is great reason to believe, that several very innocent persons fared no better than those who were most Criminal. It is a very usual way of taking revenge in that Countrey, for those in distress to go and hang themselves at the Gate of their Enemies, to declare thereby, that they deserved the like punishment if Justice was done upon them. At this rate some base spirits have purchased the satisfaction of revenge. All this troublesome time the Inhabitants of *Canton* remained prisoners in their own houses: They saw and heard what had passed, but durst say nothing. They

durſt ſcarce open their Mouths in the moſt retired and ſecret places of their Houſes. They explained themſelves, by lifting up their ſhoulders, and ſuch like Geſtures; and in ſo diſmal a time this was the beſt Expedient to avoid greater miſchief.

Although the *Chineſes*, aſſoon as they are put to the Torture, confeſs all they know; yet in all parts of the world there are ſome extraordinary perſons who may paſs for prodigies in regard of other men. And it may well be counted a very great one, when one ſingle man dares approve himſelf reſolute and generous amidſt a multitude of timorous Cowards. This happened amongſt the great numbers of thoſe who were declared to be either Principals or Accomplices in the Conſpiracy. A *Chineſe* Captain, not one of the Pyrates, or a Sea-Commander, but a Land-Commander, whom they call a *Mandorin* of Martial Affairs, was put to the Torture, and interrogated whether he knew any thing of the Conſpiracy or Conſpirators? He thus replied;

plied; *That whether he knew any thing or nothing, he was not a man to make any of his Countrey-men loſe their Lives by the hands of their enemies: That the reſolution of thoſe of the ſame Countrey to unite themſelves together againſt their Tyrants, to free their Countrey from Oppreſſion, ought not to be called a Conſpiracy. If this was that which they call'd a Conſpiracy, he was in truth the chief and principal Conſpirator in the whole Empire, and that he would moſt willingly lay down his Life to gain ſucceſs to that Conſpiracy. That this was all he had to ſay to them; and this he knew moſt certainly.* Theſe words ſpoken ſo reſolutely and pertinently, were not very plaiſant to the *Tartars*, who were not accuſtomed to receive ſuch Language from the *Chineſes*: And they having the Law in their own hands, made this free and reſolute Diſcourſe a very criminal Offence. They ordered that he ſhould be racked with greater Tortures; and ſcoffingly told him, *He ſhould reſerve all his fierceneſs till he was ſo tortured upon the Rack, that he ſhould*

have need of all his Courage to ſupport the anguiſh thereof.

He was no more moved at their Scoffes than at their Menaces; neither was he a man to be eſtimated according to the rate of the other *Chineſes*. *Rome* her ſelf, even in the time of her *Cato's* had few to be compared with him. It was the misfortune of *China*, not to have had many ſuch Captains who might have hindred the *Tartars* from advancing ſo far. They put him again to the Torture, which was extraordinary cruel: He endured it with the ſame Conſtancy, without changing his Opinion, or ſo much as his Countenance. Several *Chineſes*, who judged how far they themſelves were from being able to give ſo generous an example, were troubled to ſee ſo much reſolution in one of their own Nation. But the *Tartars* were enraged to find a *Chineſe* who mocked at them, and all the torments they could afflict him with. Amidſt his greateſt tortures, he told them very boldly, *That they tormented themſelves in vain: That he was fixed*

and

and resolved to endure the torments, even to death, and that he would be content not only to die once, but often, if he had as many Lives as he would willingly lay down for the Service of his Prince and Countrey: That he should believe them happily lost, or rather gloriously employed, to pay thereby so lawful, nay so indispensable a Duty to a valiant man.

The Viceroys caused his Wife and his Son to be brought to him, threatning to kill them before his face, unless he discovered the Conspirators. They were desirous to see if that which is most tender to a Father and a Husband, could mollifie his Courage. They thought, though he cared not to lose his own Life, yet perhaps he might be concerned, that those for whom he ought to have the greatest affection, should lose theirs upon his account. They had scarce brought them before him, but casting a fierce and angry look upon his Son and Wife, in a slighting scornful manner he replied to the *Tartars*; *This is not my lawful wife which you bring before me*; *No, my wife*

was not so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the Tartars; *I my self at her own request, kill'd her some days since, though I had no reason to complain that she had violated her Honour or mine, and she was fully satisfied in the esteem I had of her conjugal fidelity; yet seeing amidst your Violences we can be secure of nothing, we would not longer leave that in hazard, which was dearer to us both than our Lives. As for this woman, you may do with her what you please; I never lawfully married her, and my Honour or Dishonour doth not depend upon her. I acknowledge the young man you bring before me, is my Son; but if he had not been taken from me, he had not staid in the world after my Wife; and therefore I fear so little to see him die, that on the contrary, you will do me a great pleasure to dispatch him quickly. Let him die, I intreat you: Either do you kill him, or give me liberty to do it. I shall die content, when I shall know that he doth not live under the Dominion of Tyrants, and be assured that he shall neither prove a Traitor to his Country, nor no longer*

live

live to see those Treacheries and Oppressions under which she now groans.

But this Father could neither kill his Son himself, nor prevail with his Executioners to do it. He neither had Weapons, nor liberty to use any; which if he had, it is probable, he would have performed all he said, and perhaps something yet more barbarous, with pleasure have torn out the very Heart and Bowels of his Son, which certainly no person but an Infidel and Idolater could have been capable of.

What *Cato*, of whom Antiquity makes such boast, did formerly, comes far short of what this *Chinese* Captain would have done. *Cato*, when he was in *Utica*, had courage enough to kill himself, but not enough to endure to see his Son die; on the contrary, he sent him to *Cæsar*, with this Recommendation to the Tyrant; *That as for himself, he had made choice of death, because he could not prevail with himself to live under a Tyrant, after he had so long lived in a free Commonwealth. As for his Son,*

Son, he was young, and might in time accustome himself to Slavery; and therefore he recommended him to Cæsar, *desiring him to receive him into his Protection.* But this *Chinese* Captain, instead of enslaving his Son, and recommending him to the Tyrant of his Countrey, as that *Roman* did; He was resolved to have killed his with his own hand, that he might not live under Tyranny or Slavery. It is therefore no *Hyperbole*, to say that *China* in her last Misfortunes had some extraordinary persons, and greater than *Cato* himself.

The Viceroys ought to have shewed a greater esteem than they did, of the Generosity of this *Chinese*; but either they did not regard it, or else he thereby struck such a terrour into them, that he made them dread him: And this perhaps induced them not to suffer such an Enemy to live longer. They took away his Son and Wife, to whom it doth not appear, that they offered any further violence; and the next day they put him to death. This was much mag-

magnified amongſt the *Chineſes*. Gallant and Heroick Actions are approved by all perſons, even by thoſe of the moſt timorous and loweſt Spirits. But this is the ill, that thoſe who praiſe, nay envie Goodneſs and Virtue, will neither take the pains to imitate or purſue it.

A little time after the death of this *Chineſe* Captain, it was known that he was a Commander under the King *Guequan*, who was retreated into the Mountains, and had ſent ſeveral perſons throughout all the Cities of *China*, to animate the people to declare againſt the common Enemy, for Liberty. And this Captain was then imploy'd upon this account, and gave out that *Guequan*, the Lawful Succeſſor of the *Chineſe* Emperours, would command and head them. But this Negotiation had not a more fortunate ſucceſs, though the Gaptain by his rare and unparallell'd Loyalty, made it evident, that *Guequan*, who was certainly one of the beſt Princes that was ever Crowned during the late *Tartarian* war, could

could not possibly have employed a person of higher Merit and Capacity, to serve him against his Enemies. His Courage and Valour gained great Renown amongst all his Countrey-men, and his last Adventures gave occasion to discourse of them, and enlarge upon them in this present History.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

The Corsairs *possess themselves of several places, and return to assault* Canton. *The General routs them at Sea. The* Chineses *manage their Affairs ill, and thereby only exasperate the* Tartars, *and consume the rest of their Forces.*

I Must now draw to a Conclusion the Information I have received concerning the Atchievments of these Pyrates, who did daily afresh toil and torment their Enemies. The General was almost at his Wits end: This man who seemed so indefatigable in War, found out those now who gave him sufficient employment both by Land and Sea. They had now made themselves Masters of three or four the best places in all the Province of *Canton*, and there they defended themselves in spight of all the Tyrants Fury, and all that

that the *Tartars* could do to drive them out. They laid siege to several other Places, and blocked them up very close. But they were much more powerful at Sea, and highly dissatisfied, that they had so precipitately and inconsiderately made their last retreat, at that time when they did both in men and strength over-power the Vice-Roy: Therefore with all possible expedition they rendezvouz'd again, and at the same time gave a new Allarm to the City of *Canton*; they cast Anchor at the foot of that Fort which they had taken a little time before, and there in the presence and sight of the Vice-Roy, after their usual custom, they menaced the Inhabitants. The approach of these Pirates, who were ever apprehended as such dreadful enemies, put the whole City into a great perplexity and commotion. The *Tartars* were no less disturbed to see the Corsairs come thundring upon them from all parts with such numerous and potent Forces. All the Citizens, as at other times, armed themselves, and

and continued all night under their Arms, making a most terrible noise and horrible uproar. The *Corsairs* made no less a clamour without, than the *Tartars* within the City; for whilst they were drawing up their Horse, they made a continual shouting. The Souldiers within the City had each of them taken up their Posts upon the Walls, & at the Gates, and the Captains went the Round incessantly. Amongst these *Barbarians* they go not the Rounds with so great a silence as they do in the Disciplin'd Armies in *Europe*, but they continually shoot, shout, and make a clamour with their warlike Instruments. Nay, their very Guards and Sentinels do incessantly fire their Guns at night; whereas in *Europe*, they would not fail to take the Alarm at the first Gun which discharged: But these are *Barbarians*, and most barbarous in making war, where they imagine that a noise doth encourage them, and make them the more valiant; perhaps it is because with shouting and making a noise, they usually supply the defect of

Com-

Company, and being accustom'd thereto, when they are in company, they make the greater clamour to engage their companions to stick the firmer to them.

Assoon as day began to appear, General *Ly* resolves to go and fight them at Sea. And being fully perswaded that they now designed to engage him, and that for this intent they waited for him; he therefore prepares a very potent Fleet to assault them, and presently hoises Sail, and makes up to them: He found them ranged in order of Battel, and ready to fight him, and assoon as he had divided his Fleet into the several Squadrons, and issued out the Orders which were to be observed in the management of the Fight, he gives the Signal to fall on: Each Party engaged with great animosity. The Fight was very bloody, and the Victory a long time disputed, inclining some time to one side, and sometimes to the other.

The *Tartars* fought with more Valour, and in better Order, and defended

fended themſelves better; but the *Corſairs* had the advantage by their number, and their Ships were lighter, and tacked quicker about, and came up, and charged oftner, and being more numerous, they extend themſelves out further, ſurrounded their Enemy, and charged them at the ſame time both afore and abaft. It is moſt certain, that if there had been as good a union and accord amongſt them, as there was amongſt the *Tartars*, they had not only won that day, but ſeveral others; but theſe were only perſons who were aſſembled together, and divided into different Squadrons, under diſtinct Commanders in chief; amongſt whom there was not that good correſpondence as was neceſſary; for though they had a General, they gave him only the Title, but no Obedience and Obſervance but what they pleaſed, not what was due to a Soveraign and abſolute authority; ſo that if in the midſt of the Engagement, any Commander in chief of one of the Squadrons, who wanted Courage, and

had a mind to run away, all the rest of the Ships in that Squadron followed him, as *Cleopatra* heretofore deserted *Anthony*. This was the consequence hereupon, that although some of the Squadrons fought it out stoutly, yet at last, for all their Valour, they must submit; for the *Tartars*, assoon as they perceived any of the Pyrates Ships to run away, incessantly cried out Victory, and thereby animated their men to fall on with greater violence upon those who yet stood it out. There being so little union, and so great a misintelligence amongst the *Corsairs*, one of their Squadrons had no sooner run away, but presently there followed a general confusion and disorder amongst all the rest: And the *Tartars* to secure their Victory, failed not to press the closer upon them. It was the Misfortune of the *Chineses*, that though they were as nimble in running away as the *Parthians*, yet they were not so dexterous in fighting whilst they run away, and thereby gaining the Victory. This was the

Event

Event of this great Battel; the *Corſairs* were all routed, and the *Tartars*, as they uſually did, gained the Victory with all the advantage imaginable,

The *Corſairs* had ſeveral ſuch like Engagements with the *Tartars* as this was; but there will be no end to relate them all; and beſides, being it would almoſt be the rehearſal of the ſame thing again and again, the relation thereof would prove tedious. But to ſay ſomething in the general of the War which theſe Pyrates made, it is certain they toiled and tormented themſelves to little purpoſe. They did not conſider, that it was not now either a time or ſeaſon to let their Enemies ſee, they were to be feared; for thereby they only obliged them to ſtand the ſtricter upon their Guard, and to be always ready armed, and to keep very ſtrong Armies ever in the Field; neither did theſe Pyrates do any conſiderable dammage to the *Tartars*, or gain any advantage, which might encourage them to hope to regain the priſtine Liberty of their Countrey;

but on the contrary, they consumed what Forces they had left, and by ruining the Countrey, they made themselves incapable of ever undertaking any thing against the Tyrants. And admit they should have won some considerable Victory, and cut the Viceroys and all their men in pieces, and by this means recovered the City and Province of *Canton*; yet they had reason to expect new Armies of the *Tartars* to fall upon them, who would not long let them enjoy their Victory. And that they did not now come, was only because that all these Risings of the *Corsairs* were not now looked upon at Court as so considerable a War. There they believed them to be onely some Mutineers, or some Rovers, which might give some disturbance to to the Viceroys, but did not merit the care of the *Tartarian* Emperour, no more than the presence of *Pelipaonan* the Conquerour of *China*, under whose Government that Province was.

It would have been more advantageous

ous for the *Chineſes* to let the *Tartars* taſte and enjoy for ſome time the Pleaſures and Luxuries of *China*, which if they had, it is probable that it might have ſucceeded with them, as it did with *Hannibal* at *Capua*, and that they might not have been ſo invincible after as before. They ſhould have let the heat of ſuch victorious Enemies cool a little: And if they would not have ſtaid fourſcore years, and let the *Tartars* again be ſo long Maſters of *China*, as they had been once before; yet they ſhould have given them leiſure to recall their Troops, and let them withdraw their potent Armies; and by giving thoſe Souldiers which were left there, occaſion to believe that they need fear nothing in their new Conqueſt, thereby have induced them to ſtand upon their Guard more remiſsly; but on the contrary, to neceſſitate ſo powerful an enemy to keep the Field continually, and to be always in Arms, and by the Victories they obtained, to grow more fierce and inſolent. This was not the way to regain the Liberty

of their Countrey, but to disenable it for ever freeing it self from Oppression and Slavery. As there is but one *Phœnix* in the world, so there is but one Countrey, and that is *Spain*, which hath the virtue from its ruine to rise again; whilst that which ruined it still subsists. It is said of the *Phœnix*, that the Flame which consumes it, doth at the same time re-animate it; that from the Fire in which it dies, it receives a new life, and that it could never regain but from its own Ashes, and the Coals of its Funeral Pile, those sparkling Colours in its Feathers which shine like Emeralds and Rubies. And thus hath *Spain* regain'd a new Birth and Resurrection out of its own Cinders, and those Embers which had consumed it. The *Moors* had in a manner ruined and destroyed that State, and reduced it to a languishing condition; but at the same time it recover'd its vigour again. For whilst the *Moors* fell upon the *Gothes*, they gave opportunity to *Spain* to come to it self again, and to arrive at the height of Grandeur, in which

which that great and puiſſant Monarchy hath ever ſince remained. In the deſtruction of *China* there is ſome reſemblance with what hath happened heretofore to *Spain*. The Emperour *Zunchin* may be compar'd to Dom. *Roderick*, not ſo much in the loſs of his Empire, as in the ſudden deſtruction of that Prince and State at the ſame time. But it will never be ſo eaſie for *China* to reeſtabliſh it ſelf, as it was for *Spain*; for thoſe great Exploits, in which the *Spaniſh* Valour and Conſtancy ſurpaſſed it ſelf, are not to be expected from the *Chineſe* Levity and Effeminacy.

Chap. XXII.

An eminent Prediction of a Chineſe *Aſtrologer, that that State ſhould be conquered by a Stranger which had blew Eyes. The Precautions which the* Chineſes *obſerved to divert the effects of that Prediction.*

THE *Chineſes*, who have ever been much addicted to Arts and Sciences, had amongſt them ſome very famous Aſtronomers, and ſome very eminent in Judicial Aſtrology; but one of the moſt renowned of all the Aſtrologers, of the greateſt Credit and Repute amongſt them, whom they called the great *Caborri* of the Stars, had ſome years before, left behind him a Prediction, which made a great noiſe in the Countrey. The Prediction imported, that time ſhould come, when the Empire of *China* ſhould devolve

to

to the power of a Forraign Nation, and that he which ſhould conquer it, ſhould have blew Eyes. It was a rare thing in that Countrey to ſee a man with ſuch colour'd Eyes. There are ſo few that in theſe hundred years, during which the *Spaniards* have frequented the *Philippine* Iſles, where there is a great confluence of all the Eaſtern-Nations, they have remarked, that they never ſaw any perſons with blew eyes but either *Europeans*, or thoſe, whoſe Parents were of *Europe*. If it could have been remarked in any other, it would have been looked upon amongſt thoſe people, as a Prodigy, and a monſtrous thing: But the *Chineſes* above all other Nations, teſtified a great abhorrence for blew Eyes, both becauſe it was a thing extraordinary, and that thereupon they preſently reflected upon the Prediction.

This was one of the principal Reaſons that they were ever ſuch declared Enemies to the *Hollanders*: And becauſe of their blew Eyes, they would never ſuffer them to enter their Ha-

vens;

vens; and upon the same account they denied entrance both to the *English* and *Danes*, whom they observed generally not to have their Eyes so brown or black as those of their own Nation.

But it was little available to the *Chineses* to have such regard to the Eyes of men: They should more strictly have regarded that which was of greater concern to them. But herein they were negligent; and the effect of the Prediction arrived from whence they did not at all expect it. He that was foretold he should have his Skull broke by the fall of a House, found little security by avoiding going near any Houses or Ruines, since he could not escape the Eagle which let fall a Tortoise upon his Head.

The *Chineses*, who were so jealous of the Eyes of the *Hollanders* and *English*, did not mistrust that more fatal ones should come out of *Tartary*; for by the *Tartars* they pretend the Prediction of their Astrologer was verified. The young *Xunchi* was designed to

to be the Conquerour of their Empire, with blew Eyes. But I must here declare that the Relation doth not expressly say that that Prince had such Eyes as the Prediction intimated, only that he had a most beautiful Face, that his Complexion was very fair, with a most agreeable mixture of red, and that it was difficult to find either an *Englishman* or *Flemming* more fresh or beautiful: Therefore from this Description it must be concluded, that he had such Eyes as the *Chineses* apprehended; for usually they are inseparable from such Faces.

This the *Chineses* pretend was the accomplishment of their Famous Prediction, which was no less renowned in that Nation, than the Prediction of Antichrist amongst the Christians, if it may be permitted to make a comparison between the Verity of one of our Prophets, and the Vanity of a *Chinese* Astrologer. But thus these miserable people were prepossessed with the Impression of their future calamity. They are not so much to be blamed that they

they were so cautious in not admitting the Christians to Land, as that they were so negligent in keeping Guard there where they had reason to be most apprehensive. They took no care for the pay and subsistance of their Souldiers, which were to guard the Wall; and yet from those parts they ought to expect their greatest and most dreadful Enemies: But see the Misfortune of this blind Nation; they believed themselves sufficiently advertised of their afflictions, and assured themselves they had taken all necessary precautions to prevent them, and yet little regarded the knowledge of him who weigheth in his just Ballance their Crimes, and the Chastisements which thereby they merit. They consolated themselves that their Astrologer had not been deceived, and could not but confess, that it was the Decree of Heaven, that the Empire of *China* should fall under the power and subjection of another Master. But they could reach no further. They had not the knowledge of him who cites

cites before his Tribunal both Kings and People, the great Judge of all Mankind, who hideth his Anger and Justice by his patient Long-suffering of mans Injustice; but yet when he pleases, he reveals and manifests it by visible Chastisements of men, for their Infidelity and Iniquities.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Chineses *who traded with the neighbouring States, are ill used assoon as the loss of their Empire was known. The ill reception which the petty King of* Cochin-China *gave to those who came into his Territories to secure themselves.*

AFter I have related all that I could inform my self of concerning the Conquest of *China*, from these brief Memorials and Relations I received, it remains, that I should say some-

something how the Neighbouring Nations treated those *Chineses* which were in their Territories, when they received the News of the Loss of the Empire of *China*; for the *Chineses* made so ill a Defence, that it was scarce known that they were assaulted, before the News came that they were subdued, and had subjected themselves to new Masters. Of all the *Asiatick* Nations there were scarce any but the *Chineses* who transported their Wares and Merchandizes into the adjacent Countries and Nations; and for this intent, as well as for the defence of their Coasts, they had several Ships out at Sea: Some little time before the *Japanners* likewise went to trade into forreign parts. But then all their Forreign Trade was interdicted by their Prince, who, upon pain of Corporal punishment, had forbid all his Subjects to go out of his Territories; but he permitted all Strangers, excepting Christians, to come to *Japan*, and buy and sell what they pleased. As for the *Chineses*, they went in great num-

numbers into Forreign parts; especially those of the Province of *Fokien*, where they are most addicted to Navigation. They went to export their Merchandizes into several parts, as *Japan*, the Isle of *Corea*, *Tunking*, *Cochin-Chine*, *Champa*, *Cambodia*, *Siam*, *Patany*, *Macassar*, *Solor*, *Sumatra*, and sometimes even to *Jacatra*, which is a Factory of the *Hollanders* in the *East-Indies*: But they cannot go farther, being their Vessels are not proper for greater Voyages, though some of these places are little less than five or six hundred Leagues distant. And the policy of that Nation will not suffer them to build Vessels of greater Bulk, and of strength to endure greater Voyages, fearing lest the Merchants should settle themselves in remote Countries, from whence they would not transport to *China* the gain and profit of their Trade and Commerce.

The *Chineses* were alwaies very welcome to Strangers, by reason of the great profit they brought by their Traf-

Traffick; and all their Merchandizes being highly esteemed, and consequently very vendible at *Manilla*, and all the *Philippine* Isles, there was always in those Islands great Numbers of *Chineſe* Merchants. During the late Wars, there came fewer, but still some, to keep up the Trade; and assoon as they perceived their Affairs in *China* to grow desperate, and that there was no hope to recover their lost Empire, yet they failed not to give out, that now they should return thither in as great numbers as ever.

The *Chineſes* did with no great difficulty dwell and settle themselves amongst Forreigners; nay, they made Alliances and Marriages in Forreign parts. Some of them took Plantations apart, and there inhabited, as in so many distinct Colonies of *Chineſes*. Several others dispersed themselves throughout the Countrey, and busied themselves in cultivating the Lands and managing the Tillage and Husbandry of the Lords and Gentlemen of those Countries in which they lived; and others

thers employed themſelves in other Vocations, and ſeveral Mechanick Arts, by which they rendred themſelves very ſerviceable to thoſe people amongſt whom they inhabited. It is believed, that during the late Wars, there was above a hundred thouſand *Chineſes*, who were ſetled with their Families in the adjacent States and Countries; and there was in one ſingle Iſland of the *Philippines*, which made an inſurrection againſt the City of *Manilla*, in the Year 1649. more than forty or fifty thouſand.

The Neighbouring Nations were not more ſurprized at the News of the loſs of *China*, than the *Chineſes* who were then there, were aſtoniſhed and dejected; for being out of their own Countrey, whither now perhaps they might never return, they muſt expect to ſuffer ſeveral Reproaches, to the Diſgrace and Diſhonour of their Nation: And they themſelves were at the News hereof ſo tranſported with Paſſion, that they could not endure to hear it ſpoke of. Though they would

not believe that the *Tartars* were so absolute Masters of *China*, as was reported; but they endeavoured by all means possible to conceal their shame and infamy; and for this intent, they invented all manner of Fabulous Stories, to gain a belief abroad, that the *Chineses* had done, and did still do several great Exploits and very gallant Actions for the defence of their Countrey. These were fine Fictions which the *Chineses* writ out of *China* to their Countrey-men in Forreign parts. And upon this account a Christian *Chinese*, who had from the time he went out of *China*, which was then twenty years, been setled with his Wife, Children, and Family in a very remote Countrey, and now never hoped to return back, had the confidence to give out, that the *Chineses* had defeated the *Tartars*, and cut them all in pieces; that they had freed *China*, and the rest of the world from those Tyrants, and that now there was no War there, but only amongst the *Chineses* themselves, who contended who should be the absolute Mo-

Monarch of that great Empire. The perſon to whom the *Chineſe* recited this Fabulous Story, endeavoured all he could poſſibly to diſabuſe him. But he inſtantly produced a Letter, which he ſaid he had received from his Brother in *China*, which informed him of all he reported; upon the ſight hereof, they obſerved one thing, very worthy of Remark, which was, that that Letter bore the ſame Date with the Relation, which gave a particular and accurate account of all paſſages which had happened. And of the Truth of this Relation there was no ſcruple; for the very time was ſet down when the *Tartars* had compleated their Conqueſt of that Empire; and therefore he to whom the *Chineſe* made this Report, could not but ſmile, and was very deſirous to convince him that nothing was more falſe; but he was not to be confuted, but would ſtill ſtand to what his Brother had writ. He pretended, that becauſe he was a *Chineſe*, and zealous for the Religion of his Countrey, it could not poſſibly be,

that he should send him such a Lie. These Qnalities, forsooth, must needs render him a very credible person in a business of this nature. The poor man hereupon went his way very discontentedly and melancholly; which gave occasion to suppose that he gave more credit to the Discourse of the other person, than to the Letter of his Brother: But he was angry and ashamed to agree to a Truth which did not please him.

But yet the hardest usage which the *Chineses*, as well those who were already there, as those who came after in the *Tartar* Habit, met with in most of these Countries, was only to be mocked and derided, and to be treated with injurious terms, as to be called Traitors to their King, and infamous Cowards, for defending their Countrey no better. Though these Reproaches were very piercing, yet it was but a small matter to what they merited.

They were used more mildly by the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, who o
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the contrary, did very much compaſſionate their Misfortune. They muſt have been very hard-hearted not to have been grieved and troubled to ſee the deplorable condition of that vaſt Empire, which ſome few years before, they had ſeen ſo flouriſhing. The *Spaniards* ought eſpecially to be moved with compaſſion towards them; for thereby they might be minded of what had heretofore happened to themſelves at home. But it is true, that generally people were not diſpleaſed to ſee the *Chineſes* ſo humbled as they were; for they treated Strangers with ſo much diffidence and Jealouſie, and the Landing there was incumbred with ſo many difficulties, that there was no approaching near their Coaſts. This was the occaſion that that great Empire was in a manner ſecluded from the Commerce and Society of Mankind; and thereby from the Light of the true Faith and Religion, which was there ſo horribly perſecuted, only for this reaſon, that thoſe who came to reveal it to them, were Strangers, who came

into their Countrey, notwithstanding they were prohibited by the Laws thereof. But all this Inhumanity proceeded only from a pannick Fear, and a base Distrustfulness of that jealous Nation. The *Tartar* was very far from these timorous suspitions of the *Chinesses*; but having a better opinion of his Valour and Strength, he is willing the entrance into his Provinces should be open and free to all Narions of the Earth. He doth not much concern himself at the arrival of Strangers. He is so little apprehensive that any should come, that on the contrary, he is conceited that the Fame of his great Exploits hath made him formidable all the world over. And by how much the *Tartars* are more generous and courageous than the *Chinesses*, they are so much the more frank and free in their Actions and Dealings, and of easier access, and herein they have a greater resemblance to the dispositions of the *Europeans*. They could never suffer nor endure that people should approach them with those Ceremonies,

and

and proſtrate themſelves before them, as they uſe to do before the *Chineſe-Mandorins*, as ſhall be ſeen when I come to treat of their manner of Government. Therefore aſſoon as there was any hope that the change of the Government of that State would make open and free the Commerce of not only the goods of the Earth, but that which is of higher eſteem and value, the Riches of Faith. There were none but the *Chineſes* who were troubled that the State-Affairs of that great Empire was changed.

I muſt now relate the manner how the petty King of *Cochin-Chine*, near Neighbour to the *Chineſes*, received them after the ruine of their Countrey. This Prince is the Grandchild of a Viceroy who revolted againſt the King of *Tunking*, together with all thoſe people who inhabited in a ſmall Canton of that State; ſo that *Cochin-Chine* is but a ſmall part of the Kingdom of *Tunking*, bounded by the Sea towards the South and the Eaſt; but towards the North contiguous as the whole

State of *Tunking* is with the Continent of *China*. The Viceroy by his Revolt ſtill upheld himſelf in the quality of Viceroy or Prince of *Cochin-Chine*, as likewiſe did his Son, and Grandchild after him. And this laſt is at preſent the petty King of that Countrey, which for theſe ſixty years hath been a ſmall diſtinct State. Ever ſince the firſt Revolt, the King of *Tunking* hath inceſſantly made war againſt *Cochin-Chine*, ſtill pretending to be the Lawful Soveraign thereof. But this war hath not been very hotly proſecuted by either party; for the Rebels have ſupported themſelves by the power and intereſts of the Friends and Allies in *Tunking*; and the war by State-policy prolonged, and at the end it ſerved only to waſte and conſume ſo much Money for the keeping up ſo many Souldiers, without any great advantage or loſs to either party. This was the ſtate of *Cochin-Chine*: But if the *Tartars* had had any inclinations to turn their Arms towards thoſe parts, they might quickly have decided the quarrel of thoſe

two

two Princes; for each of them were Neighbours near enough to those Conquerours to tremble at the very Fame of their Victories.

But to return to the petty King of *Cochin-Chine*; he was not very potent, yet he was very fierce and troublesome, and shewed himself very splenetick to those *Chineses* driven out of *Japan*, for some Reasons which you shall shortly know; and he treated with all the ill usage he could possibly all the other *Chineses*, because they had defended themselves so cowardly against their Enemies.

This Prince, with his whole Court usually resides in that place where the great River called *Tayfy* rowles it self into the Sea. All forreign Ships which come to trade in that Countrey, enter there without any difficulty. Two Leagues from the Mouth of the River there is an Island called *Champailo*, which frames a Bay or Harbour, in which Ships may ride secure. He sent order, that all the *Chineses* who fled thither, thinking to find refuge in his Coun-

Countrey, ſhould paſs no further; for he would not let his Territories ſerve for a retreating place to thoſe who had been ſuch Traitors to their King and Countrey. He kept them two Moneths in the Bay of that Iſle, and would not permit them to enter into the Channel of the River. He was willing to make them ſenſible that they deſerved to be treated no better by his Highneſs. They comprehended his meaning, and underſtood that he expected Money. This was the deſign of this great Monarch, who did not think it unworthy of his Grandeur to make his profit from the misfortune of theſe miſerable people. The reaſon that he durſt thus treat the *Chineſes*, was, becauſe he ſaw them ſo low; at another time he would not have dealt thus with them: But they who perceived what they muſt do, preſently preſented the petty King of *Cochin-Chine*; and hereby they obtained liberty to enter into the Channel of the River; after which, he continued to them the advantage of that

that Favour; but they underſtood very well that they owed the Obligation thereof to their Preſents.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Emperour of Japan *uſes the* Chineſes *very hardly. The Jealouſie that Prince hath of Strangers. How powerful an Obſtacle this diſtruſt is to the converſion of thoſe people. He refuſes to receive an Embaſſie from the* Portuguezes *of* Macao. *That though the* Japanners *are very powerful, yet they have reaſon to fear the* Tartars.

THere is none of all the Neighbouring Princes of *China* who have ſhewed ſo much inhumanity towards the *Chineſes* as the Emperour of *Japan* did. This Prince, as I have already remarked, had his head full of phantaſtick *Chimera's*; which if right-

ly

ly considered, were only vain Fears, which disquiet a base and timorous soul; but which yet were a powerful Obstacle to the Preaching of the Holy Gospel, and the propagation of the Christian Religion, which began to make a considerable progress in all parts of that spacious Countrey; but notwithstanding he would be thought a very valiant and puissant Monarch. And he might have been esteemed so, were it not, that for all his power he is so apprehensive of Forreign Princes, even those who are above five thousand Leagues distant from him; but above all of the King of *Spain*, that he seems even when he is broad awake, to be disturbed with Dreams and Visions. These ridiculous fears made him imagine, that all those who went thither to discover to them the Mysteries of Christian Religion, were only the King of *Spain*'s Spies. And this was the only reason which induced him to expel all the Christians out of his Territories, and to put all those to death who either remained there concealed,

or

or returned back again to profecute the Enterprize they had begun; which was to reveal to thoſe people the Light of Faith. He made a prodigious number of Martyrs, even thoſe who were his Natural Subjects, who had been converted to the Faith of Chriſt, he put to death upon the ſole belief that they were ſo many Adherents to the King of *Spain*. Finally, the fear in which he ever is left the *Spaniards* ſhould come and diſpoſſeſs him of his Empire, hath occaſioned him to make ſuch rigorous prohibitions to all his Subjects, not to go out of his Territories; for he imagines that they may go and convert themſelves to the Chriſtian Religion in Forreign parts, and then return with the *Spaniards*, and aſſiſt them to conquer his Empire.

The *Portuguezes*, in the Year 1647. ſent a very honourable Ambaſſie. The Ambaſſadors with all their Retinue and Equipage, were tranſported in two Gallies. Their Inſtructions were to treat concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of Trade and Commerce with the

the City of *Macao*. But it was impoſſible to prevail any jot herein with that Prince. On the contrary, he renewed his former prohibitions with greater ſeverity; and pretended that he ſhewed the Ambaſſadors great Favour and Grace, that he ſuffered them to live. The Ambaſſadors ſtaid before *Nangaſacke* about forty dayes, from the ſix and twentieth of *July* to the ſixteenth of *September*, in the Year 1647 I cannot expreſs the precautions the *Japanners* made uſe of during that time, to ſecure themſelves, keeping a moſt ſtrict Guard, out of the Diſtruſt and Jealouſie they had of every little trivial thing. And all this while they made a ſhew as if they had a deſire to treat the *Portugueze* moſt obligingly, and with all the Civility they could expect in other parts from their beſt Friends, yet made them content to bring aſhore all their great Guns and Ammunition, nay the very Sails and Sterns from off their Ships, and to deliver them all up to be kept by them; aſſuring the *Portugueze* they would faith-

faithfully reſtore them aſſoon as they were ready to go out of the Harbour.

The *Portugueſes* at the firſt were not of opinion to ſubmit to this Demand; alledging in their excuſe that they had no Inſtructions from thoſe by whom they were commiſſionated to act in this manner; but it was rather out of the apprehenſion they had that the *Japanners* had a deſign to diſarm them, that after they might with leſs danger take away their Lives, as they had done to the Ambaſſadors which went from *Macao* in the Year 1640. After a little time, they yielded to this demand, being convinced that they might do it ſecurely, and that thereby they need fear nothing; ſeeing every day that the Veſſels of the *Hollanders*, which came to *Nangaſacke*, made no difficulty to deliver up to their cuſtody all their Tackling; for in *Japan* they uſed all theſe precautions, even to the *Hollanders*, out of the fear they generally had of all Strangers; but they apprehended the *Spaniards* above all others.

There

There is no visible reason to be given for these pannick fears, but only that it is the artifice of the Enemy of the Salvation of Mankind, to prevent thereby the knowledge of the true Religion; for it is certain, that if we well consider *Japan*, there is no Soveraign in *Europe*, no not the King of *Spain* himself, can conquer a Countrey of that strength, so far distant; or should he possess himself of any place therein, could he long keep it. To manifest this, let us but reflect of what a vast extent, and how populous *Japan* is, which contains sixty Kingdoms. In truth they are not so spatious as the Kingdom of *Naples*; but according to the relation of those *Spaniards* who have seen both; they are not less than either *Granada*, *Marcia*, *Valentia* or *Anduluzia*. Therefore there cannot remain the least doubt, but that a Prince who absolutely commands sixty such Kingdomes, is a most puissant Monarch. And all this spacious Countrey is very populous, and a most warlike Nation, and so little affraid of death,

death, that only to evidence what they would do, either out of affection to their Friends, or for the ſervice of their Prince, they will inſtantly ſtrike a Dagger into their Breaſts. Theſe people are alſo very united amongſt themſelves, and obedient to their Governours. And beſides all this, they are very well armed with all manner of Arms and Weapons which are uſed in *Europe*: From hence we may judge whether or no a forreign Prince, though he had taken or fortified ſome place, could long maintain it, though it was never ſo ſtrong, or well furniſhed with all Neceſſaries; nay, though he ſhould employ herein all that was requiſite for the ſubſiſtance of a compleat and entire Army, he muſt expect to be quickly aſſaulted very fiercely from the Land, and to have all his Works ruined and laid flat by ſtrong Batteries; and let him make all the reſiſtance he can, he ſhall be ſure to be beſieged and blocked up, not only in the midſt of great Armies, but of Walls and Mountains, if it be neceſſa-

ry; and from the Sea-side, though he should over night, have it open and free, and be in a convenient Port to receive Succours and Supplies, yet before morning, he must expect to have the Haven blocked up, and the Sea excluded by Mountains transported thither by the *Japanners*, if need be. There is a sufficient number of both Men and Vessels, and all Necessaries for a greater Enterprize, the Conquerour would quickly find himself immured up in his Fort, and all hope of Relief cut off; and though he should have a recruit of Men and Ships at Sea, if they were not already entred the Port, he would find there would be no possibility for them to enter in; nay, there would be no Haven; and so his Ships would be necessitated to abandon themselves to Tempests and ill Weather, to the Banks and Shallows, which are more frequent in those Seas, than in all parts of the world besides; and if they were in the Haven, they must never expect to come out, but to remain there likewise besieged and blocked up.

It

It must not be imagined, that it is a *Hyperbole* to say that the *Japanners* transport Mountains; for it is most certain they do by pieces and parcels, but not as the Saints did heretofore, by Miracles, remove whole Mountains. To evidence this, I need only relate what the Governour of *Nangasacke* did during the time that the two *Portugueze* Gallies were in the Haven. After several Demands and Replies to and fro, at last they went up the Channel of the River, which near the City, is half a Mile over: But some few days after, those who were aboard the Gallies, were much surprized one Morning, to see the River blocked up by a Bridge, which went quite athwart the Channel, between which, and the Citadel of the Town, they were made prisoners. The *Japanners* staid not here, but another Morning, two or three days afterwards, there was discovered upon the same Bridge four Forts, at an equal distance, furnished and provided with both Souldiers and Artillery: And besides these Forts,

there was at each end of the Bridge, but a little lower, two Squadron of Ships, or rather two entire Navies, in each of which there was a thousand Vessels and Ships great and little, with an incredible number of Souldiers aboard. After the Relation of all this diligence, it is easie to see that the *Japanners* can do such prodigious things, that they cannot be reported without subjecting the Relater to the suspition of Hyperbolizing.

It was after known that the occasion of the Governour of *Nagasacke*'s making all this preparation, was, that after he had sent advice to the Court of *Japan*, of the Arrival of the *Portugueze* Ambassadors, he had observed, that they had entred into that diffidence, that it might well have induced them to return speedily back again. And he apprehended that he should both offend the Emperour, and be accounted at the Court an imprudent person, if after he had given notice to the Court of these Ambassadors, they should have returned without receiving

ving any Anſwer or Order from the Emperour, and therefore he made all theſe Preparations to retain the Ambaſſadors there.

If the Governour of one ſingle Town could upon a Concern of ſo little importance, make ſuch an Expence, and ſuch an Oſtentation of his power, as to build in leſs than a fortnight a Bridge with Forts, furniſhed with great Guns, over ſo great a River, and put out two thouſand Sail of Ships, manned and fitted for Fight; and beſides all this, keep an incredible number of Souldiers under their Arms in his Garriſon; What might not his King and Maſter do to expel out of his State and Territories a Forreign Enemy, though never ſo potent and formidable, who ſhould come to make an Invaſion? It is therefore moſt certain, that there is no Prince or King in *Europe*, who would much advantage himſelf, ſhould he make any Conqueſt in that remote Countrey; yet ſome *Japanners* have ſaid that ten thouſond ſtout *Spaniſh* Souldiers might conquer all *Japan*. But

the *Spaniards* would be very vain, ſhould they imagine it was ſpoke ſeriouſly; ten thouſand men without ten thouſand more to aſſiſt them, if occaſion ſhould require it, would ſignifie ſo little in an attempt to do any great Exploit in ſo powerful a Countrey, that they would ſcarce be able to defend themſelves from one Ambuſcade of the Enemy. And if Famine and Sickneſs occaſioned by the change of Air and the Climate, and the want of good and wholſome nouriſhment, ſhould deſtroy ſome part of them; if by the difficulty of paſſing the Rivers, and forcing their paſſage, another part of them ſhould periſh or be drowned; If the Aſſaults, Ambuſcades, Skirmiſhes and Fights with the Enemy, ſhould conſume another part; How many at laſt would there remain of theſe ten thouſand men? Nay, if we further conſider, that though there was neither Enemy nor War, yet a great part would quickly be loſt. Common Senſe and Reaſon would convince us, that he would be very ridiculous, who

ſhould

ſhould give credit to any ſuch Expreſſions of the *Japanners*, and ſo would he likewiſe be, who ſhould believe he had done ſome great matter towards the entire Conqueſt, if he had defeated ten thouſand, or a hundred thouſand men in *Japan*, though they would not part with their Lives at an eaſie rate to any who ſhould aſſault them.

By this it is manifeſt, that the *Japanners* have little reaſon to be affraid; but the Devil thus diſturbs them, that thereby he may ſtop the entrance of the Light of the Holy Goſpel into that Countrey; which he hath already done, by ſo horrible a perſecution, that excepting that of Antichriſt, the Hiſtories record few more cruel; nay, there is no hope that the Servants of the Living God ſhould of a long time be permitted to approach near that Countrey, unleſs as he holds in his hand the Key of the Bottomleſs Pit of Deſtruction, he ſhould ſhut the Mouth thereof, and open a way which we are yet ignorant of; we can only ſee, that if there is any humane means or way

left to make *Japan* free for the Christians to come thither, it is by making that Prince better understand both his strength and power; and assuring him that he who is able to make all his Enemies upon Earth tremble, needs fear no Conquerour; that Forreigners would get but little by coming to assault him; that he knows already his Neighbours cannot equal him in force or power; and as for the other Princes, who are at a greater distance, though they be never so powerful, yet it would be in vain for them to come to gain any Victory or Triumph in that remote Countrey. The *Japanner* is so haughty a Prince, and the whole Nation so vain glorious, that if this Vanity could once enter into their heads, they would presently grant liberty to all Forreigners to come into their Countrey; and then they would so little care whether they were, or were not Spies to other Princes, that they would send to defie and brave them in their own Territories. Those who better understand the humour and genius of that Nation, and

and how potent they are, may judge, whether they may not probably change their Conduct in the management of their affairs, when they come to understand better their own strength.

I have enlarged my self the more in my Discourse of *Japan*, out of the desire I have, if it be possible, that these miserable people might cease to be apprehensive of their own felicity, and might at last give liberty to those to come into their Countrey, who are ready to reveal it to them: But at present there is no possibility; on the contrary, their Fears encrease daily. Heretofore they were only affraid of very remote Enemies; but at the present, they dread their Neighbours most of all, and that not without cause. It is the just punishment of those who are affraid, and torment themselves without cause, to have afterwards a true and real occasion of both fear and perplexity. The *Japanner* is a very near Neighbour to the *Tartar*; for the Kingdom of *Corea*, of which he is Master, is not above thirty Leagues distant

distant from the Islands of *Japan*: Therefore if any variance should happen between these Princes, and the *Tartar* should invade *Japan*, as he hath done *China*, it would be no little testimony that God would again reveal himself to that Nation. All the Precautions which the *Japanners* could then take, would be no more available than those were which the *Chineses* took. And those miserable people would at last be brought to acknowledge, that they have a Master, whose entrance they cannot stop into their Territories; for he knows how to make himself a passage when he pleases, and how he pleases; but by ways and means they know not of.

The Emperour of *Japan*, who after the ruine of his Neighbours, was struck with a new fear, treated most barbarously all those *Chineses* who were in his Dominions; even those whom he knew had not at all contributed to the loss of their Empire. There were very many *Chineses* in *Japan*, who had taken Wives of that Countrey, and married

married their Daughters to the *Japanners*; ſome went inceſſantly, upon the account of their Trade between *China* and *Japan*; others, the more wealthy Merchants reſided continually at their Shops and Ware-houſes, where they ſold their Merchandizes, and drove a great Trade with the Merchants of *Japan*. All theſe perſons were no ways either conſenting or aſſenting to thoſe Treacheries which had been committed in *China*; they had not contributed to the Misfortunes of their Countrey, from which they were then abſent; having aſſoon as they perceived War and Diſturbances in thoſe Provinces in which they uſually trafficked, retired themſelves into *Japan*; and though there the innocency of theſe perſons were well known, yet the loſs of *China* was no ſooner divulged, but they were condemned as ſo many Traitors, and cowardly Villains, who had ſhamefully delivered up their King and Countrey to the power of their Enemies. It did not appear that theſe poor people had done any ill, yet the

the Emperour of *Japan*, by his Edict, declared upon very ſevere penalties, that the *Chineſes* being unworthy to live amidſt his people, ſhould with all ſpeed depart out of his Territories and Dominions; and go they muſt, without having liberty to make any Reply; for none are ſuffered to make any Remonſtrance againſt the will and pleaſure of this Prince, or the Decrees of his grand Council at *Tenza*. It was a ſad Spectacle to ſee ſo many miſerable people, thus deſtitute of all relief, put out to Sea, and neceſſitated to ſeek out unknown Countries, not daring to return to their Native Countrey, which was totally ruined by the *Tartars*; nor ſuffered to ſtay in that Countrey, which for ſo long time had been to them inſtead of their own Countrey. Nay, they muſt be gone with all ſpeed; and in this haſte, they could not obtain permiſſion to carry with them ſome of their Merchandizes, as their Leather and Arms, the exportation of which, was prohibited: Some of them only, who were married in *Japan*, left their Families

Families there, in hopes to return when things were not carried with that extremity and rigour. After they obtained liberty to go and come with their Ships, only to trade, not to ſtay in the Countrey, as they did before.

The other *Chineſe*-Merchants who came after to continue their Trade and Traffick, were much worſer uſed. They being then in ſubjection to the *Tartars*, had their Hair cut ſhort, and were habited after the faſhion of the *Tartars*. This new mode was not very taking in *Japan*; for they were commanded and enjoyned not to ſtir out of their Veſſels, nor to unload any of their Merchandizes, but to go back with all ſpeed to the place from whence they came, and never to return to *Japan* in the *Tartarian* Habit; which if they did, they muſt expect a very ill reception, and ſevere puniſhment; but they could not return with the ſame wind which brought them thither: And in thoſe Seas the Winds do in an unvariable order ſucceed each other all the year long, according to the Seaſons of the

the year with us; and to have a contrary wind to that which brought them, they must stay several Moneths. Thus the *Chineses* were necessitated to wait for an opportune season to return from the place where they could not Land; but must remain prisoners at Sea in their Ships; and after they had suffered so much at home, the Inhumanity of the *Japanners* made them know they were not yet arrived at the end of their afflictions.

They were used with such cruelty by these Barbarous people, that when the *Tartars* heard of it, they declared a high resentment of it, and threatned to go to *Japan* to revenge them, and to let those base and cowardly spirited people know, they were able to conquer another Empire. The two Viceroys of *Canton*, who were more particularly offended, that the *Japanners* should thus insult, had a great mind not to let it rest thus, but to carry their resentment further yet; but they could not of themselves make any attempt upon that State; but the young

Zunchi

Xunchi must first concern himself in the quarrel: And it is certain, that if he had taken a resolution to carry the war into *Japan*, in a little time he would have given great trouble and disturbance to that Prince. It was not far for the *Tartar* to pass over with his Troops from *China* and *Corea*, which was likewise in subjection to him. And these two Nations, which have ever been mortal Enemies to the *Japanners*, desired nothing so much as a war against *Japan*. This would have disturbed the thoughts of that Neighbouring Prince, and have made him abate something of his haughty fierceness, especially if *Pelipaouan* the Conqueror of *China*, should have appeared at the head of those who would have served under him in the Conquest of *Japan*. We cannot tell what resolution the Emperour *Xunchi* may hereafter take: As we are not permitted to wish ill that good may come of it, so we ought not to wish that a Prince may turn Usurper or Tyrant; but if God, who disposes and orders Kings and

and States as he pleases, should ever permit the *Tartar* to carry the war into *Japan*, in probability this would be a means to give an entrance to the light of the Holy Gospel into that Countrey where it is now so resisted.

See in the general how the *Chineses* were treated by their Neighbours after the loss of their Empire; the greatest part of which contented themselves to deride them, and to speak of their Nation with injurious terms and contempt. The *Japanners* only treated them with all the hardship and fierceness they could possibly. The *Tartars* accused them of Cowardliness, that they defended themselves so ill, and by way of reproach called them mild and peaceable people. Afterwards, in the Laws and Ordinances which they enacted for the Government of that State, they spoke of them in terms which manifested that they had no great value or esteem for them. In all places the unfortunate are insulted over; and those who stand and flourish, trample under foot those who are cast down;

not

not considering that one day the like misfortune may happen to them. But they were *Barbarians* who thus treated the *Chineses*; whereas Civiliz'd and Reasonable persons would have regarded the ruine of that Empire with the same reflection as *Scipio* did heretofore contemplating upon the Destruction of *Carthage*. This wise and prudent *Roman* taking a view of that renowned City, which was at the same time, abandoned to the Fury of the Fire, and the *Roman* Souldiers, its irreconcileable Enemies. He heard the joyful Acclamations of the Conquerers, and the doleful Groans of the Conquered, which through the Flames which surrounded them, pierced the very Heavens. He saw the miserable people, who flung themselves down headlong from the Walls and Houses, that they might escape the Fire, either received upon the points of Lances of the Souldiers, or bruised and trampled upon by the Horses Feet which marched through the Streets. He beheld the Bodies of some men half covered over

with Wounds, and the other half burnt with Flames, as if the poor wretches were to die two deaths at once: *Scipio* taking a prospect from an Eminency, of the direful Disasters of that City, could not refrain shedding Tears; which being remarked by some Knights of *Rome*, they demanded of him the reason why he so bewailed the Ruine of that City, which had been so dreadful an Enemy to the Commonwealth of *Rome*? This man, who saw farther into the event of things, than others, returned an Answer worthy, without all doubt, both of a Philosopher and a *Roman*.

I do not (said he) *shed Tears out of any Tenderness or Compassion for* Carthage; *but I cannot refrain from it, when I reflect upon the Transitoriness and Instability of humane affairs: I do not let fall these Tears for the Ruine of* Carthage; *I know too well the Mischiefs it hath done to my Country, and to the Family of the* Scipio's; *I understand full well that by the Law of Arms, no*

Quar-

Quarter is to be given to those who have so often manifested themselves such Rebels and inveterate Enemies. And now it is the third time that Carthage *hath taken up Arms against* Rome: *I am not therefore moved at the destruction of that City; Nay, I am so far from it, that I commanded it; but I lament and bewail* Rome *it self; And I cannot stop the Torrent of my Tears, having so clear a foresight that time will come when my own Countrey will have no more favourable a Destiny. I cry therefore for the afflictions and calamities which will fall upon* Rome; *and I see them most evidently in the Ruines of this City, once so Renowned all the world over, and for these seven hundred years so potent both by Sea and Land. I cannot but reflect upon its once so flourishing condition. It is not seventy years since it gained those glorious spoils in the Battel of* Canna. *I recollect with my self how formidable it was to us whilst* Hannibal *fought for it; that* Hannibal *who planted his Standards at the Gates of* Rome, *and might have made himself Master of the Capitol, if*

he had known how to make use of his Fortune and Advantage. Behold now that Town which cost the Lives of so many of our Roman *Consuls, which hath been so often victorious over our Armies and our most famous Generals: Was it not in this very place, and upon that Theater which we see now covered with Flames, that heretofore they measured out by Bushel-fulls the Rings of the* Roman *Knights, those valiant men who fell by the Victorious Arms of* Carthage? *But I see the Fortune of* Carthage *is very different from what it was heretofore. By which it is evident that there is no permanent prosperity upon Earth: There is therefore no Empire so powerful, but we must expect that sometime or other it will be overthrown and destroyed: And time will be when my Countrey,* Rome *it self shall only be the Ruines of that* Rome, *which now that it is Crowned with Glory and Triumph, over its most Formidable Enemy, makes such Boast and Ostentation of its Grandeur and Power.*

Thus in the present destruction of *Car-*

Carthage, did *Scipio* ſee, as in a Glaſs, the Ruine of *Rome*. And to know whether he was deceiv'd or no in what he did preſage ſhould happen to his Countrey, let us hear what a Father and Doctor of the Church ſaith. Saint *Jerome* makes no ſcruple to interrupt his Expoſition on the Holy Scriptures, that he may deplore the Sack and Pillage of *Rome*, which happened in his time. *Carthage* (ſaith he) *was once ruined, but* Rome *ſeveral times: The Enemies of* Rome *have ſeveral times entred victoriouſly into the principal City of the whole world: And it once happened that a little ſmall Creature was the occaſion of the Loſs of* Rome, *which gave occaſion to an Hiſtorian of thoſe times, to ſay, That the Miſtreſs of the Univerſe might be remarkable for every thing, it was neceſſary it might be ſaid that* Rome *was taken by ſo inconſiderable a Creature as a Hare.* It is fit therefore that men ſhould rationally ponderate and conſider the Revolutions of States. He that would reflect with himſelf, that thoſe Calamities which he ſees to hap-

pen to others, might likewise fall upon himself, might hereby avoid those Cheats which are imposed upon most men by the fallacious Smiles of Fortune, and better arm and prepare himself against those Misfortunes and Disgraces which are equally incident to all Mankind. Those Princes and Nations who were Neighbours to the *Chineses*, ought to have made these Reflections upon the Ruine of that great Empire, and not to have insulted over those unfortunate People, as the *Japanners* did, who treated them most barbarously and inhumanely. With this Remark, I shall conclude the Narrative of the most considerable Passages in the Conquest of *China*. It only now remains, that I should say something of the present condition of that State under its new Masters; of their management of Affairs, and manner of Government; of their Religion; of their Armies and Military Forces; and lastly, of the Manners and Customs of the *Tartars*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Religion of the Tartars. *Their Natural Virtues and Vices.*

IT may truly be said that those *Tartars* which conquered *China*, are men who have neither the knowledge of God or of any Religion: For it doth not appear that they apply themselves to the knowledge of any Deity, or that they shew forth the Notions of any particular Religion. But they indifferently receive all Religions and Superstitions which they are acquainted with, refuse none, but conform to all. As it may be said, that he who is every mans Friend, is no mans Friend, and that none can be reputed good men in the esteem of that person who is of opinion that there are no ill men; so it may likewise be said of the *Tartars*, that they are of no Religion,

becauſe they are of every Religion; for though from their outward actions they may paſs for Idolators, yet to ſpeak properly they have no Religion; for they neither know nor care to know, what it is they adore: Nay, it doth not appear, that they retain or receive thoſe firſt notions which the ſole inſtinct of Nature, without the aſſiſtance of any ſupernatural light, impreſſes into the breaſt of every man; by which Philoſophers demonſtrate a ſoveraign Being, and a firſt Cauſe of all things which move, and of all the products of Nature.

The *Tartars* have no knowledge of the Idols and Deities the Ancients adored. They only worſhip, or rather admire the Heavens, juſt as it preſents it ſelf to their view, without making any reflexions upon that great and admirable brightneſs and ſplendour which they behold, and the wonderful effects which it produces: And yet to this they pay their greateſt adoration, and this makes the greateſt impreſſion in the minds of the people. But you

muſt not imagin, that they much diſturb or diſquiet their thoughts with the due obſervance of that adoration which they pay to the Heavens; their devotion hath not ſo great an impulſe upon them: They have their *Bonzi*, which are their Prieſts, which offer their Sacrifices; and theſe are their Philoſophers and Learned Men; but yet they have no great eſteem for them. Their Women (as devotion in all places whether true or falſe is moſt natural to that Sex) ſeem to be ſomewhat more devout than the Men, and this appears by the veneration they have for their *Bonzi*. As this Nation embraces no particular Religion, ſo it rejects none, but eaſily are induced to believe a Divinity in that thing to which they ſee any other perſon pay any adoration; which they manifeſted in all parts of *China* through which they paſſed: For in all that Countrey there is an infinite number of *Pagods*, which are the Idols and Gods of the *Chineſes*, which are placed in the Temples, very magnificently built, richly adorn-

adorned, and very numerons; and these were the Monasteries or Convents of their *Bonzi*, who lived lazy and easie Lives; for notwithstanding that it was reported that these poor men forsooth, lived such austere Lives, and did such strict Penance, they did not much mortifie their Bodies, or afflict themselves; neither did the *Tartars* find them so pale, lean, or disfigured as the common people gave out; but on the contrary, they found they looked very fresh and well, were fat and lusty; which easily induced the *Tartars* to believe that their Lives were not very strict or austere: And yet they did no injury to their Persons, the Temples or *Pagods*. But it is true, that it cannot be determined whether it was out of Religion and Superstition, or State-Policy; for though they neither plundred the Temples, offered any violence to the *Bonzi*, nor took away any of those Lands and Revenues which the Emperour of *China* had given them, though they were very considerable, which Moderation might be

be thought to proceed from some sense of Religion, and Veneration which the Victors had for their Persons or Temples, yet on the other side, they were not very scrupulous, for they made Stables of the Temples, and tied up their Horses to the *Pagods*. And as for the *Bonzi*, they spoke scornfully enough of them; they called them lazy idle Fellows, who would neither labour nor take pains; and cheating Knaves, who gulled and deluded the people, and whilst they enjoyed plenty and a fluency of all things, eat and devoured the Bread of the poor; sometimes they would say to them, *Come out you lazy Knaves, come and fight, and after you have so long lived idly, and done nothing, come now and take a little pains.* Thus they reproached and reviled them; but they did not force or compel them to quit their Cells or manner of Living. And this made it be believed, that they had express Order from the Emperour *Xunchi*, to offer no violence to the *Bonzi*, nor to commit any disorder in the Temples.

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But yet many are of opinion, that in time the *Tartar* will either extirpate all these idle and unprofitable fellows, or else that he will reform them; for the *Tartars* have a great aversion to the manner of life which the *Bonzi* lead, which is no ways sutable to their Genius or Humour. But they judged fit to proceed with this moderation, lest if they should at the first have undertaken an Enterprise of that Concern, they should thereby have rendered their Government odious. But they could do nothing of greater importance than this, for the admittance and propagation of the Christian Religion thoroughout the whole Countrey; for hitherto the *Bonzi* have been the great opposers of the Preachers of the Holy Gospel; and these are they who have been the great obstacle to the conversion of those people. But after all, they do not this out of any great zeal to their false Religion, but only because they imagin, that that is more efficacious and conducible to maintain them in that quiet and easie life they now lead.

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I muſt now ſay ſomething how the *Tartars* have carried themſelves towards the Chriſtians which they found in *China*. There was divers Prieſts of the Chriſtian Religion in ſeveral places, and it is certain, that they had beyond all compariſon, a greater reſpect and eſteem for them, than for all the *Bonzi*. But amidſt the Diſorders of the War, the Sacking and pillaging ſo many Towns, the *Jeſuits*, who are the ſole Preachers and Propagators of the Chriſtian Religion in *China*, have ſuffered very much both in their Perſons and Goods, from the Inſolency of the Souldiers, but chiefly from the *Chineſes* who marched amongſt the *Tartars*: But this was contrary to the expreſs Orders of the Viceroys and Generals of the Armies, who were far from authorizing thoſe Violences; which they ſufficiently teſtified by the obliging reception which they ever after gave to thoſe Fathers; for they gave them all the Safeguard and Protection which they could deſire; and with great familiarity and confidence they

they conſulted with them about their Affairs. And this muſt likewiſe be ſaid, that whatever the *Jeſuits* ſuffered, it was not upon the account of their Religion; for the *Tartars* (as hath been already remarked) do not much concern themſelves with thoſe Matters. And it would have been very ſtrange, ſhould not the Inſolence of the Victorious Souldiers have tranſported them to thoſe Exceſſes which are ſo uſually practiſed by them in all parts; but much more amongſt the *Barbarians*.

The *Tartarian* Women ſeemed more inclinable to our Religion; for they frequently reſorted to the Churches of the Chriſtians in *Peking*; but in truth, this was rather out of Curioſity than Devotion, though they ſhewed a great reſpect to the Images which adorned the Altars in the Churches. Perhaps they went out of compliance to the *Jeſuites*, whom ehey ſaw ſo conſidered by the Emperour and all the Grandees of his Court; for the whole Nation is very courteous, and wonderfully compliant

pliant to the Humors of all perſons, which cannot be denied to be a very apt diſpoſition to incline them to receive the firſt Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, and afterwards to induce them to give credit to thoſe Truths which it teaches, when upon examination they ſhall find them ſo conformable to the moſt refined Light of Reaſon.

But to ſpeak ſomething of the Virtues and Vices of the *Tartars*; it muſt be acknowledged, that they are not ſo effeminate and ſenſual as the *Chineſes*. They are not allowed to have ſo many Wives, and do deteſt and abhor thoſe infamous and abominable Vices which are not fit to be named, and yet were frequently committed by the *Chineſes*; which gave occaſion to the Emperour *Xunchi*, aſſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of the Empire, and was informed thereof, to publiſh an Edict, wherein he declared, that whoſoever ſhould but attempt to commit thoſe abominations, ſhould have his Hand cut off; and whoſoever ſhould perpetrate them, ſhould

should lose his Head without any grace or favour. As for Theft, they hold it so high a Crime, that the very first time they punish it with death.

As for the rest of their Virtues, to speak of them in general, the *Tartars* are endued with many excellent Qualities, and shew themselves to be very noble and generous in all their Actions. They are very frank and open, and observe the performance of their word and promise very punctually in time of Peace, when they are out of fear of an Enemy. Those to whom the Administration of Justice is intrusted, must be very disinteressed persons; for they are very strictly prohibited to accept, or take any thing from any Party; and if they do, are very severely punished. They do not there as in other places, call that which the Judges take, their Fees, or a Present, or Gratuity; but Theft and Robbery, which is the Name which the Law of God imposes upon whatsoever is given to buy or purchase Justice. As for their other Moral Virtues, we shall see what they are,

are, when we come to ſpeak of their Government.

The greateſt Vice of the *Tartars* is, their Cruelty in War, where they are very ſanguinary. And it is reported, that they have been tranſported to that exceſs, as to eat the Fleſh of their Enemies, which is a moſt barbarous Inhumanity; but of this, there is no certain proof, neither doth it appear, that the whole Nation is guilty of that Vice; perhaps this was only the rage of ſome few of the moſt barbarous, and the very Dregs of the people.

I muſt likewiſe declare, that their word is not to be relied on too much; eſpecially if it redound to their profit and advantage to falſifie it. But it muſt be conſidered that they are *Barbarians*, and near enough Neighbours to the *Mahometans* to have learnt this Vice from them, who are ſo eaſily abſolved from it by the Law of their falſe Prophet. And I wiſh to God that this Vice was peculiar to the *Mahometans* and *Tartars*, and that *Machia-*

vel had not propagated the practise of this Doctrine more than ever *Mahomet* did. It is not the *Turks* and *Tartars* only who violate their Oaths and Promises, unless we must repute all perjurious and false persons to be *Turks*, *Barbarians*, and meer Infidels.

This is the best information I could receive of the Religion of those *Tartars* who conquered *China*; and this is all the Account I have of their Virtues, and Vices. And now I shall say something of their Form and manner of Government.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Government of the Tartars *in* China. *The excellent Endowments of the young* Xunchi. *The Reformation which he made of the* Mandorins *and* Eunuchs *in the Court. The Virtuous Freedom of the* Tartarian *Women.*

THE *Tartars*, though they are *Barbarians* and Infidels, yet their method of Government may give very good Inſtructions to our wiſeſt Politicians. Theſe people, who as I have already remarked, do in a manner ſurround the whole Continent of *China*, are poſſeſſed of a very vaſt Countrey, which is divided into ſeveral States and Kingdoms, which the *Chineſes* make mention of according to the General Diviſion of the whole world into four parts, calling them the *Eaſtern*, *Weſtern*, *Northern* & *Southern Tartars*. And

the truth is, that Nation is possessed of so vast a Countrey, that it seems to be a little World. The most potent of these people are the *Eastern* and *Northern*: And it was these, who under the Command of their young King *Xunchi* conquered *China*. They had for a long time been at war with those *Tartars* who are more advanced to the *Western* and *Southern* parts. And it is very remarkable, that having made a Truce and Accord amongst themselves, which gave opportunity to young *Xunchi* to pass into *China* with the greater Forces, they observed and kept it so inviolably, that there did not appear the least jealousie of the Victories of that Prince and Party, who had so long been their Enemies. *We are* (said they) *all* Tartars, *why should we therefore destroy one the other, thereby to give occasion to a Forreign Enemy to triumph over us? Let him rather perish; and let him who can, be Victor: But let us assist each other.* This action of these *Barbarians* is just opposite to the practise of the *Christians*, amongst whom a Prince can

can never attempt any conſiderable enterprize againſt the *Turks* and Infidels, but he ſhall inſtantly have occaſion to fear, leſt whilſt he is engaged againſt them, his Neighbour ſhould enter with an Army into his Territories. This doubtleſs proceeds from this Maxime, that all Chriſtians do not repute the *Turk* to be the common Enemy. And yet thoſe are *Tartars* and *Barbarians*, Infidels and Idolaters. Theſe forſooth, are Chriſtians, Politicians and Civilized perſons; but God will in his due time confound theſe Polititians, much more barbarous, than the *Tartars*.

Aſſoon as *Xunchi* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Cities and Provinces, he conſulted how to frame ſuch Laws and Ordinances, by which he might conſerve what he had acquired by force of Arms. And firſt of all, (as I have already noted) he ordained that all the *Chineſes* ſhould cut off their Hair, and ſhave their Heads, like the *Tartars*, only leaving a greater Tuft on the Crown of the Head, to diſtinguiſh them from the Natural *Tartars*. This Edict

ſeemed very rigorous to thoſe people who were almoſt as willing to loſe their Lives as their Hair. It was ſaid, that it was a *Chineſe* of *Peking* who gave this advice to the Prince aſſoon as he was Crowned, as a thing of high importance to ſecure his Victory. In all parts there are miſerable Villains, who are willing to expoſe their own Countrey, to ſuit to thoſe perſons from whom they can hope for more conſiderable advantage to themſelves.

This Prince publiſhed a ſecond Order of higher importance, to retain his new Subjects in peace; and in this, his Policy appeared very judicious and prudent. A great number of *Tartars* went and ſetled themſelves in *China* long before the War; as it is uſual in all Countries which are very populous, for ſome of the Inhabitants to paſs into another; eſpecially out of a worſer into a better and richer, as *China* is in regard of *Tartary*; and as ſeveral perſons often go out of *France* into *Spain*, where Money is more plentiful. *Xunchi* therefore commanded all the *Tartars*, both

both men and women of all Ages and Conditions whatsoever, to come without any delay, out of the Provinces were they were setled, and inhabit in one of the two principal Cities, *Peking* or *Nanking*, where the Kings of *China* usually resided with their Courts, and where several *Tartars* newly came out of their own Countrey, began to establish themselves, and had order to furnish the others with all Conveniencies which were requisite upon this occasion. And on the other side, the *Chineses* who inhabited in these two Cities, were enjoyned to go from thence, and dispose of themselves elsewhere.

This Ordinance was very inconvenient and troublesom, even to the *Tartars* themselves; but it was of as great importance for the welfare of the State, as the enjoyning the *Chineses* to cut off their Hair. And the *Tartars* considered that these Discontents would quickly wear away; and besides, the Emperour *Xunchi* signified his Will and Pleasure to his Subjects in the most mild and obliging terms and manner he

could possibly, that thereby he might convince them, that he did not design to treat them like Slaves. After he had thus secured these two Capital Cities, which were as the two Keys of that Staff, upon the safe custody of which depended the security of his new Conquest. The City of *Peking* commands all the Northern Provinces, and *Nanking* the Southern, and each of these Cities were so strong and potent, that either of them, upon occasion, would have been able to have defended it self against all the Provinces which depended on it. But when they should be inhabited with *Tartars* only, and defended with a strong Guard of old and experienced Souldiers under the Command of Officers of approved Fidelity, from thenceforth there could not be the least ground to apprehend any Sedition or Treason. And the *Tartars* having thus secured these two great Cities alone, and sent some considerable Forces to guard the Wall, that he might, when he judged it necessary, bring fresh Forces out of *Tartary*, he need

need have no other Forces in any other part of *China*; no not if he ſhould return into his own Countrey: For, ſhould any Revolt or Inſurrection happen, the *Chineſes* could not raiſe Forces ſufficient to make any reſiſtance aſſoon as the young *Xunchi* ſhould appear at the Head of his Armies. And beſides, it was not to be feared, that the *Chineſes*, who by the late Wars and Inſurrections had ſuffered ſo much, ſhould not out of dread of new calamities remain quiet and ſubmiſs. But yet this Prince, that he might omit nothing which might tend to his abſolute ſecurity, placed ſtrong Garriſons in all the fortified Towns and Places through the whole Countrey, and judged it not his Intereſt to ſtir out of *China*. He reſided alwaies at *Peking*, though he would not ſuffer that either this City, or *Nanking* ſhould be called the Court, pretending theſe ought only to be reputed two particular Cities, and that he would not have any other Court but that in *Tartary*, of which the Relations give us no account.

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Those who have seen the young *Xunchi* at *Peking*, report, that he is a most courteous and obliging Prince, and of a sweet and mild disposition, but withal very quick and active, discreet and prudent, and of great ability for the management of affairs; and that he was very careful and circumspect in all things which related to the government and welfare of his Subjects. He had ever near his person one of his three Unkles, who passed over with him to the Conquest of *China*, who was said to be a very prudent person, and most passionately zealous for the Glory of this young Monarch, and the Honour of his Countrey. This Prince stayed ever at the Court, and took as particular care of the young *Xunchi* as if he had been Father to him.

But that which did most illustrate the tender nature, and good disposition of this Prince, was the strict Injunction he laid upon all his Officers to do all the good, and to shew all the favour they could possibly to his people.

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To this intent, he enjoined them to carry themſelves fairly and mildly towards all perſons, and to treat them kindly and obligingly, and with all poſſible expedition to diſpatch all thoſe who addreſſed themſelves to them; but above all, he commanded them to be diſintereſſed and uncorrupt, upon pain of loſing both their Offices and Heads. How ſtrictly this was obſerved and practiſed, we ſhall ſee, when we ſhall come to treat of their Juſtice in particular. And the Emperour *Xunchi*, that he might by his own example inſtruct his Officers to be kind and favourable to their Fellow-Subjects, cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed through all *China*, wherein he declared that he remitted all thoſe Taxes, Impoſitions and Tributes which remained due to him, and had not been raiſed or collected in the three years of the War, which were 1644, 45, 46. It is true, the *Chineſes* did not acknowledge they were due, becauſe all *China* had not then ſubmitted to him: But he pretended, that having been Crown-

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ed Emperour of all *China* in the year 1643, and never having had any lawful Competitor, these Duties were as rightfully payable to him, as if he had been in possession of the entire Empire. And though this reason was not prevalent with the *Chineses*, yet it is most certain, whether it was or it was not his Right to exact the payment of these Duties, yet if he would, he might have compelled them to pay him. He was absolute Master, and there was nothing to be gained by contradicting his Will. It cannot therefore be denied, but that he having very urgent occasion to Levy Monies, the remission of so great a Sum to his People, was a most magnificent and Royal Bounty and Liberality, by which he manifested to them, that his Affection to them was more prevalent with him than his Interest. It is not, but the greatest part of the Towns and Provinces of *China* had by their Losses and Dammages suffered more than the payment of these Tributes several times paid over, would have amounted to: But the *Tartars* said

ſaid that the *Chineſes* had themſelves drawn theſe Calamities upon them, being the Authors thereof, by their raſh and vain Inſurrections, by which they exaſperated the Inſolence of the Souldiers, whom it was not poſſible to curb or reſtrain at ſo great a diſtance from the Emperour's preſence: That it was contrary to his expreſs Orders, that any of theſe Violences had been committed; and that the ſevere chaſtiſements and puniſhment which was inflicted upon all perſons convicted of theſe Crimes, were convincing Proofs that he did not approve or allow of them.

It is moſt certainly trne, that all thoſe Souldiers who were convicted to have robbed or plundered any perſon, were ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that if all Thieves and Robbers were ſo dealt with in all parts, there would quickly be none left in the whole world. And in a very ſhort time the Roads and High-wayes were ſo ſafe and ſecure, that all Poſts, Carriers and Meſſengers went their Stages and Journies with the

the same liberty as before. Trade and Traffick quickly was restored and setled, so that all Wares and Merchandizes were brought from the most remote parts to the Sea-Ports with all the safety the Merchants could desire. It was a mark of the good Order and Government of this Prince, that all things were so quickly composed; that the people lived so submiss and quiet under their new Masters, and never so much as attempted to make any revolt or insurrection. To maintain this good Order and Discipline amongst his Souldiers, he issued out a Command, that where-ever they should be, even in those Provinces where there should be any War or Disturbance, they should keep themselves incamped under their Tents in the Fields, and not enter into any Towns or Villages, without the express Leave and Order of their Officers. A young Prince of but fourteen years of Age, an Idolater and Barbarian, might have less observed the exact Rules of Reason and Justice,

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and perhaps he might yet have made a great bluſter, and have done greater actions: But we rarely ſee thoſe who are neither Idolaters nor Barbarians, do any Exploits either of greater Gallantry or Renown.

After the Remiſſion of theſe Tributes, which had not been raiſed during the years of the late War, the Emperour began to cauſe to be Levied thoſe which were due for the following years; and this was with ſuch moderation, that though the ordinary Taxes which were paid to the *Chineſe* Emperours were but very reaſonable, yet the Emperour *Xunchi* was willing to remit a third part even of them alſo; as he manifeſted by his Declaration which he publiſhed; which imported, that the Emperour would only take the two Thirds of thoſe Tributes, which were accuſtomed to be paid to the Kings of *China*; and that he was graciouſly pleaſed to diſcharge the people from the payment of the other third part.

The Emperour *Xunchi* judged it likewiſe

likewise necessary to reform the *Mandorins* *, which in *China* were very numerous, and enjoyed great Priviledges, upon no other account, than of their Office, which many of them were not permitted to exercise. All *Mandorins* were exempt from paying any Subsidies or Taxes, and were only obliged to send to the Emperour what Information they judged necessary concerning the Affairs of the Provinces and Towns; of which Duty and Obligation they discharged themselves so negligently and remisly, during the Reigns of the late *Chinese* Em-

* *All Magistrates, both Civil and Military, are called in the* Chinese *Tongue* Quonfu, *which signifies men fit for Counsel; and for their Quality, not Office, are stiled* Lavie, Lavisy, *or* Lavias, *which signifies Lord or Master: But the* Portuguezes, *and in imitation of them, all the* Europeans *call them* Mandorins; *derived (as* Arnoldus Montanus *saith) from the* Portugueze *word* Mandarim, *a Commander or Governour; or as* Kircher *intimates) from the* Latin *word* Mandare, *to Command.*

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perours, that though they did for a long time plainly discern those Disorders and Disturbances in the Provinces, visibly to threaten and presage the General Ruine and Destruction which fell upon the State, yet they did not concern themselves in the discharge of their Duty, but by a cowardly and slothful Treachery let both their Prince and Countrey perish. *Xunchi* understanding what disservice these persons had done to their Prince, resolved to make them know and feel that they deserved rather Chastisements than any Favours or Immunities; and therefore he deprived them of their Dignities, and took from them their Priviledges, and would not permit them to have any advantage above the rest of the people, but to pay equal shares with others in all Tributes and Impositions. *Is it not fit* (said the Emperour) *than henceforth the* Mandorins *should assist their King with their Money, since hitherto they have assisted him so ill with their Advice and Counsel?* This was a slight punishment for

those Traytors, who had been so unfortunately negligent in the execution of those Employments and Injunctions which they had received from their Prince. But this light chastisement was a severe affront, of which they were the more sensible, because it gave so great a pleasure and satisfaction to the people, to triumph over them, and to rejoyce that the Tyrants were disgraced, and pulled down from their insolent and haughty Grandeur; yet it was reported, that *Xunchi* would employ under him some of these *Mandorins*, though but few, and those of the greatest Merit and Reputation.

It was expected and wished that he would have done as much to the *Bonzi*, who were possessed of very great Revenues throughout the whole Empire. And many are of opinion, that though he doth not quite extirpate them, yet he will make a strict Reformation amongst them. There was then three distinct Orders of them; and there was heretofore reputed to have been above 3000000 *Bonzi* of only one of these

these Orders. Had all these been sold for Slaves, they would have rais'd a considerable Sum of Money. Since then, their Number and Revenues are both decreased; yet there are still too many of that idle and unprofitable generation through all *China*, which would be no loser if the whole Race of them were destroyed; but on the contrary, would be a great gainer, to be thereby delivered from the great Obstacle at present to the Conversion and Salvation of those people.

But the most eminent and acceptable Reformation which was ever made in *China*, was that which the *Tartar* made of the Eunuchs which had so great power and credit in the Court of the late *Chinese* Emperours: Though their Employment was only to be a Guard and Watch to the Wives of the Prince, and other great Lords, yet they advanced themselves to so considerable Estates and Fortunes, that the most eminent persons in the whole State looked upon it as a high advantage, if they could promote several of their

Children to so honourable a preferment; so that there was great emulation for the procurement of those places. It being observed that many Families had enriched and advanced themselves to the highest Honours and Dignities by having had a Child preferred to be one of the Princes Eunuchs; but the Emperour *Xunchi* judged it not convenient to have the Offices and Dignities in his State disposed of amongst that kind of men, but was minded that they should remain only in the same incapacity they were, naturally unprofitable persons in their generation, who were so far from having served as they ought the late Emperour *Xunchin*, that on the contrary, the greatest part of them had been so many Traitors, who had perfidiously sold both their Prince and Countrey.

The Wives of the *Tartarian* Lords would not consent that any of these Eunuchs should be placed as a Guard over them. They pretend to have no need of those Guards; *for* (say they)

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Women are not the truer and faithfuller to their Husbands, nor the more chaſt, by having a ſtrict Guard and Watch put upon them; but on the contrary, many have been falſe and unchaſt, only becauſe they were watched too narrowly; and as for them, their Honour was a ſecurer Guard than any which could be ſet over them. Nor were the *Tartarian* Women, like the *Chineſes*, immured up as ſo many priſoners; but when they pleaſed, walked about the Streets in the Cities and Towns, and in the Countrey into the Fields. They ride on Horſeback, and have the Courage to go to the Wars, and hazard their Lives in Fights and Battels. They execute any Action better than they ſpeak or diſcourſe. The ſole Employment of the Eunuchs being only to be as a Guard to the Women, whom the *Chineſes* kept in a perpetual Impriſonment; this Office was of no regard or conſideration amongſt the *Tartars*. And in all probability there will be very few Eunuchs made hereafter in *China*, and thoſe who are ſo already,

will be ashamed of themselves, and of the Affront and Injury which Nature hath received in their persons.

Chap. XXVII.

How satisfied the Chineses *were with the* Tartarian *Government. The Pride and Avarice of the* Chinese *Mandorins. The speedy and exact Execution of Justice by the* Tartars.

IT may truly be said, that Princes by their Actions do not only invite, but command and oblige their Subjects to follow their Examples. And thus did the Ministers of State, and Officers of the young *Xunchi* so exactly conform themselves to the Model of Justice and Equity, which he had prescribed them for the Government of his people, that the *Chineses* themselves could not look upon them as Usurpers and Tyrants, but presently began to ap-

applaud and extol them, and ingeniously to acknowledge, that they merited to have the Command and Dominion over them. This Content and Satisfaction of the people under their new Masters, was no less a Testimony of the good inclinations of the Prince, but of the Loyalty of his Officers; for it is but too ordinary for men to find fault, and to be offended at all that is done under any new Government, though it be never so well managed. But that which did most satisfie and content the *Chineses*, was to see that the *Tartars* let them have their share in the Government, and admitted them to several Charges and Dignities. This they did, that thereby they might win the Affections of the people, and because they foresaw that the Multitude of Affairs in so vast a Countrey would give sufficient employment to both *Tartars* and *Chineses*; and likewise because the *Chineses* were better instructed in the Affairs of that State, and knew better how to suit and comply with the humour and Genius of their

own Countreymen, they daily sent them into the Provinces, to exercise the Charge of *Mandorin*, and made them Governours of several Towns and Places, but still dependent and subordinate to the *Tartarian* Lords, who were the supreme Governours, and had the inspection over the Conduct of all *Chinese*-Officers, and by their Instructions were obliged to watch and observe that the *Chineses*, who had not the reputation of Integrity, should not in their Employments act and do all things according to their own will and pleasure: But the *Tartars* did not think it convenient to suffer the *Chinese-Mandorins* to wear, as before, those rich Girdles, nor their square Caps, nor several other Marks of their Majesty and Grandeur, which rendred them so venerable to the people. For heretofore, whensoever a *Mandorin* went to give Audience, he was followed by a Crowd of People with all the Majestick Statelinesse, as if it had been the highest Concern of the State. The Streets must be cleared through

through which he paſſed, and all perſons muſt place themſelves in rank and order. Silence muſt be kept, and none ſuffered to call aloud, or make any noiſe. But when the face of Affairs was changed, the *Tartars* mocked at them, whenſoever they ſaw them only carried in their Sedans through the Streets. They called out to them, and told them, they ſhould leave thoſe for their Wives and Women, for whoſe uſe they were invented and made. And though they did not hinder them for making uſe of their Sedans, yet by deriding them thus, and by comporting themſelves with a behaviour juſt oppoſed to this Effeminacy, theſe *Chineſe-Mandorins* quickly ſo diſ-accuſtomed themſelves, that it was not neceſſary to prohibit them. The *Tartarian* Lords, the Viceroys of the greateſt Provinces, nay, the Emperours Unkles went through the Streets on horſeback, attended only by five or ſix of their Domeſtick Servants, as the moſt inconſiderable *Mandorins* of *China* were. The Retinue of the Lords rid

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on Horseback likewise, as their Masters did. The Viceroys and principal Officers of the State were of so easie access, and treated so civilly and obligingly all persons, who had any business with them, that the *Chineses* were surprized at it. No body was commanded to keep silence in the streets and places where they were; but they received Petitions and Addresses, gave audience, and dispatched affairs, without any difficulty, or much Ceremony; and besides, the entrance into their Houses and Palaces, was free to all persons, and at all hours. The *Chineses* were struck with admiration at these actions and proceedings of the *Tartars*, and esteemed them the more, when they reflected upon the haughty pride and arrogancy of their Lordly *Mandorins*, from whom they could never have Audience but at a great distance, and to whom they must never speak but on their Knees, and then bowing down their Heads so low as to kiss the very ground.

The gentle and fair reception, and the

the free acceſs which the *Tartarian* Officers gave to all perſons, was not leſs powerful to maintain and ſecure their Conqueſt, than their Arms had been to gain it: which may be made evident by this, that there being only the Populacie in *China*, who could frame any Conſpiracy, the common people, were ſo far from entertaining any ſuch Projects or Thoughts, that on the contrary, they were ſo well ſatisfied with the Government of their new Maſters, that they could not but with horrour now think on the hard ſervitude they groaned under the fierce arrogancy of their former *Mandorins*. It is doubtful whether the *Chineſes* were ſufferers by the change of Government; and to clear this Point, it is neceſſary to ſhew how the former *Chineſe Mandorins* treated all criminal perſons, who had the Misfortune to be brought before them, though the Crime of which they were accuſed was never ſo ſlight.

The Pride of a *Chineſe Mandorin*, ſeated in his Tribunal Seat, was inſupportable, ſaith a Relation out of *China*;

na; for after he had for a long time turned and rowled about his Eyes, that he might prepare himself to look sternly and austerely upon the poor wretched Criminal, he afterwards looked very fixedly upon him, and in such a manner as if he had already been going to pronounce upon him some horrid Sentence of Death: He wrinkled up his Eye-brows, so that under his square-Cap they looked as hideously as those do through the Vizor of the Helmet of an armed man, who is just going to charge his Enemy: He seats himself in a setled posture, and is very watchful and careful over himself, not to stir or move in the least, but keeps his hands and all his body without any action or motion; he speaks some few words, but they fall from him with that weight and gravity, as if they were made of Lead, and as leisurely as a proud Animal when he walkes, lifts up his feet, and stately sets them down again upon the ground. He is likewise attended with two Pages, on each side one, with great Fans in their hands,

hands, to cool and refresh the Air, and drive away the Flies: For it would be inconsistent with the Gravity of the *Mandorin* to move his hand upon this occasion. Such grave Majestick *Mandorins* would in ancient times have done well at *Rome*, to teach even the *Cato's* Rigour and Gravity. But that which is the most pleasant, this Fellow who hath the good Fortune to be a *Mandorin*, and is so rigid and severe, is the greatest Villain in the whole Countrey, or rather a most subtil Thief, who practises more cheating Tricks in one day, than a Troop of Mountebanks can do in a whole Year.

But the lamentable condition and posture of the unfortunate Criminal who is brought before the *Mandorin*, is more extraordinary than the pride and gravity of the *Mandorin* himself. The poor wretch is brought into a great Hall, and there he must not fail to deport himself most demurely, and to look most dejectedly; he creeps bare-foot and bare-legg'd upon his knees;

knees; and at every moment prostrates himself, and bows down his head till he touches the very ground with his Face. In this posture he presents himself, and puts himself into that form and shape which he thinks may move the greatest compassion: His Eyes are fixed on the Ground, as if they were fastened to it; his Head appears as if it was thrust into his Shoulders; his Voice is low and whining, and he dares neither blow nor breath; his hands are so close joined, that they might be thought to cleave or grow together; but that he is forced sometimes to separate them, that he may so employ them, in paying the greater Obeisance and Adoration. All the rest of his Body remains so constraint, that if it was possible, his very Bones, for fear lest they should appear, might have been suspected, to have crept one into the other. If he should dare to spit or cough, this would be so high a Crime, that he must instantly be severely punished for it. In this state and condition, the sad wretch expects

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to receive his Sentence from his Judge; who for this purpoſe hath a table placed before his Tribunal, and upon it lie ſeveral Tallies, which he takes up and flings upon the ground, more or fewer, proportionable to the correction to which he condemnes the Criminal for the Crimes he ſtands accuſed, which very often are but ſlight ones. Each of theſe Tallies is a Sentence or Condemnation for a hundred ſtaſhes with a Whip, which doth ſo tear and flay off the Skin, that the miſerable wretch often dies under the hands of his Executioners. And yet to make the leaſt reply or interceſſion after Sentence given, is but to encreaſe the puniſhment, by the addition of a new Crime. The Criminal perſon therefore durſt not open his mouth, or move in the leaſt, for fear he ſhould exaſperate his Judge. The Executioners, who conſtantly attended, immediately after Judgment, ſeized upon him, and quickly diſpatched him; but firſt they ſtripped him ſtark naked, and then in preſence of the *Mandorin*, without

without any fear of offending thereby his Gravity, gave the condemned person the number of Stripes, to which he was sentenced by the Tallies. He who would not drive away a Fly, lest he should violate his Formality, thought it no disrepect to him to see a naked man whipped in his presence. This was the ridiculous and Ceremonious affectation of those haughty *Mandorins*, by which they pretended to maintain and keep up their Gravity, but as several other men do, they strained at a Gnat, and did not observe that they swallowed a Camel. And that is most certain, that the *Chineſe Mandorins* did so tyrannize over the miserable people, that there is no *Hyperbole* in this Relation of their fierce and cruel Arrogancy.

The people therefore, when they saw their new Magistrates, and the Grandees of *Tartary*; nay, the very Unkles to the Emperour, to manage affairs without all this Ceremonious affectation, and with a deportment so opposite to the ridiculous pride under which

which they had so long suffered. When they saw the Viceroys receive Petitions and Informations in the Streets and publick places, and to answer them, and do Justice as they passed by on Horseback; and that at all hours of the day the *Tartarian* Magistrates gave audience, and at the very instant dispatched the Parties concern'd, without obliging them to any Ceremony, or permitting them to prostrate themselves on the ground, or creep on their Knees to them. When the *Chineses* saw a face of Government, which seemed to have a smiling and more favourable aspect towards them, they could not desist from admiring and highly esteeming their happy Change.

They were so far from being grieved, that they were reduced under the Dominion of the *Tartars*, that they perswaded themselves, that they now began to enjoy their Liberty, after they had so long groaned under so cruel a thraldom. Thus *Xunchi* employed all his Mildness and Goodness, hereby the better to secure to him his

new Subjects. And in all parts, the Art of gaining the Affections of the people, doth no less compleat and secure Conquests, than that of gaining Victories, doth give a beginning and progress to them. Finally, the Ruine and Preservation of Empires and People depends much upon the different management of Affairs, by those who are the Supream Governours.

The *Tartars* had their Councils and Justice-Seats in the same manner as the *Chineses* had, but not in so great a number. They kept up the Dignity of *Colao* * and *Mandorin*; but none attain thereto, but by Merit and Election; and these ought all to be persons of high Reputation and Merit, of which the *Tartars* would be first well satisfied and informed.

* *The* Colao's *were superiour to all other Magistrates in the Kingdom, and had in a manner a Jurisdiction over them: Therefore* Semedo *calls them the Supreme Presidents in all Councils, and of the whole Government; and saith they are commonly but four, and may never exceed the number of six.*

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As for their Laws and Policy, the manner of proceeding in their Courts of Judicature, and the Officers appertaining thereto, and their administration of Justice, as well in Criminal Causes, as in Actions of Debt, and Trials of Right between party and party, conformable to those Ordinances and Regulations which the *Tartars* have made; we have not as yet been particularly informed herein. We only know in general, that herein they act just opposite to what the *Chineses* did. And that they might quietly introduce and establish these new Customs, which are so contrary to the ancient, they have the more industriously employed the *Chineses*, whom they have put into several Charges and Offices. And the people on their part, that they may ingratiate themselves to their new Masters, have the more readily conformed in all things to these new Laws. And thus in all probability there will not be left in a short time, the least appearance of the ancient *Chinese* Government.

In all Suits and Trials the *Tartars* never make use of any long Writings, neither have Practitioners in Law any great Employment there. In all Trials between party and party, the parties concerned justifie by word of mouth only their claim to the thing in contest; and by word of mouth alone the cause is decided. All other Ceremonies are counted a frivolous and expensive loss of time. They were yet more quick and expeditious in the dispatch of criminal causes, and yet they did very diligently examine all charges and accusations alledged against the party accused. They have this Maxime, That Guilt or Innocence do presently manifest it self, when judicious persons, who manage the Examinations, proceed impartially. Neither do they make use of Prisons, Chains and Fetters, saying, that thus to torment men, is to put them twice to death. When any criminal person is seized upon, at that very instant of time he is brought before the Judge, if the Crime be sufficiently proved against

gainſt him, he is immediately puniſhed; if the proofs are defective, he is ſet at liberty. There is but two ſorts of puniſhments for all criminal perſons. When the crime doth not deſerve death, they take two Arrows and ſtrike them through the Ears of the Criminal, and turning the ſhafts upwards, they tie them together on the top of his head, and in this poſture they make him march through the Streets and publick places of the Town or City; and an Officer goes before him, and proclaims aloud, that *whoever hath committed the like Crime, ſhall receive the like puniſhment.* But if the Crime deſerves death, his Head is cut off, without making any diſtinctions between either the quality of perſons, or the nature of Crimes. It is ſufficient that they have deſerved to die. When they execute the condemned perſon, they firſt ſtrip him as naked as when he was born, to the end (ſay they) that he may go out of the world as he came into it. When he is thus ſtripped, the Executioner with a Cimeter

meter or short Sword strikes off his Head, and when the Body is fallen down, he hacks it to pieces; for which reason they stript it at the first. And usually they leave the dead Body upon the place, pretending thereby to make others dread and abhor the like crime. It is said, that heretofore the Executioner used to take home with him a Thigh, to make therewith an Entertainment for his Friends: And this perhaps gave rise to the report, that the *Tartars* eat Mans-Flesh. But as it hath been already observed, there are none except the most savage, barbarous and brutish persons of that Nation, who can be judged capable of committing so horrid a crime. Neither would the *Tartars* so honour the Carkasses of criminal persons, as to give them living Sepulchres.

That which seems most strange in the administration of Justice by the *Tartars*, is that they can so soon go through all necessary Proofs, and Examinations in criminal causes, and private contests between party and party.

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But *Xunchi* by a Law which will admit of no Gloſs or Comment, pretends to have taken away all impoſſibility or difficulty in theſe quick and ſpeedy Trials; by which he ordained that all Suits and Conteſts between party and party, ſhould be decided aſſoon as the parties concerned had been heard; and that in criminal Cauſes, the party accuſed ſhould either immediately be puniſhed or acquitted; but if the party accuſed were really guilty, and the accuſation not verified, nor the party convicted, that then the Judge who acquitted him, ſhould undergo the penalty of the Crime committed; for *Xunchi* pretended, that then the fault muſt be in the Judge: But if the fault was proved, the party accuſed was puniſhed at the very inſtant of time, though never ſo inconvenient, and that either by a pecuniary Mulct, or corporeal puniſhment. Thus there was no poſſibility of prolonging Trials: Nor was there any way to evade the due Execution of the Emperour's Law, which he deſigned, to oblige

thereby the Judge to be as much concern'd to sift and impartially examine the Evidence, as the accused person to make his Defence. This Law he caused to be executed and observed most rigorously. The consequence whereof was this, that afterwards there was in all Offices and Courts of Judicature such persons, who though they were not rich, yet they discharged their Employments with such integrity, that the people were much better satisfied with these Judges, than with those under the *Chinese* Emperours, though they were very rich and Majestick.

Such precipitation in the dispatch of Affairs may seem somewhat barbarous, and not very politick; but the contrary excess of prolonging Trials by perplexing Causes with Tricks and fraudulent Nicetles, and going through all those Terms and Punctilio's, and Orders of Courts, which serve only to delay Justice, and make Causes to be so long depending, that they can never come to be decided; This, I say, may perhaps seem not less barbarous to

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those people. Happy is that Nation where Causes are not so precipitately determined as amongst the *Tartars*, nor yet so delatory as in other places. But this Moderation is the operation of a Virtue which humane Policy doth not alwaies consult.

Xunchi hath also given to all those Officers and *Mandorins*, who are actually in possession of those Employments, all those Pensions and Allowances which the ancient Emperours of *China* setled upon them; and hath continued several of the most ancient amongst them in their former Offices and Employments, or else hath put them into other places not less honourable than their former. And yet these have never ceased to complain that they had only the Name and Title of *Mandorin* left them. They had reason to say so, if they considered, that they were now really obliged to gain and maintain at least a better Fame than they had before. Nothing can better capacitate any publick Officer or Magistrate, to serve his Prince in his

his Employment, than to have the reputation of Merit and desert, which may render him considerable in the esteem of the people: But the Officers who did most murmur and complain, were those who had the management of the Exchequer, and the Revenues of the Emperour. They were not satisfied that they could not enrich them by those vast Sums of Money which passed through their hands: The *Tartars* derided them, and scoffingly asked them, if they were not called the Officers of the Emperour's Exchequer; if they were so, they must then acknowledge, that the Exchequer was not theirs, but the Emperours; but if they appropriated it to themselves, by enriching themselves thereby, they were not then the Officers of the Emperours Exchequer, but of their own; that they should either be satisfied with the Pensions were allotted them, or resign up their places to others: That the Emperour would not want Officers to discharge those Employments, and yet be well content

tent with the ſame Penſions and Allowance they had who murmured, and were ſo diſcontented at them.

After that *Xunchi* had ſtrictly enjoyned his Officers not to ſell Juſtice, he puniſhed very ſeverely thoſe Judges, againſt whom it was proved that they had received any Bribes or Preſents. And he was the more vigilant to put a Check to this diſorder, knowing that the Ruine of *China* was at firſt occaſioned by the Avarice and Corruption of the greateſt part of the Judges, and thoſe who were in the moſt eminent Offices and Employments in that State. For as for Pilfering Extortion, and Bribery, the *Chineſe* Officers and Miniſters of State were ſcarce to be parallell'd in the whole world. And upon this very account, long before the loſs of that Empire, they were ſo deteſted and abominated by all their Neighbours, that by their Books and Writings it plainly appears, they could neither ſpeak nor write of the *Mandorins* without bitter expreſſions of indignation againſt them.

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It was they who managed and disposed of all the Emperours of *China*'s Revenue, but in such a manner, that the Emperour, whose Revenue amounted yearly to more than thirty Millions sterling, was ever in want and indigency. At least in appearance he had not wherewith to supply the necessary Expences of his State, which was occasioned by the fraud of the *Mandorins*, who diverted to their own private occasions the greatest part of those Monies, which should have been employed upon the publick account; and never concerned themselves with thinking, or contriving how the Souldiery should receive their pay and subsistance, and less how to reward those who had faithfully served their Prince and Countrey. And yet the people were compelled to pay Taxes, Subsidies, and Impositions, to maintain the pride and grandeur of the *Mandorins*, and other Officers, who had advanced themselves by the decay of the State; and yet they were so weak and cowardly, that they durst not attempt, to preserve

preſerve either it or any part thereof from utter ruine and deſtruction. Whereas before a *Mandorin* would have trampled upon, and treated with ſcorn and contempt the moſt conſiderable Officers of the Army, now on the contrary, the ſight of one poor Souldier would have made a great number of *Mandorins* run away and hide themſelves. Thus by the avarice of theſe Officers, the Princes Guard was compoſed only of ſome poor diſtreſſed Souldiers, who were both ill paid and maintain'd, and being ſcorn'd and vilified, to advance their Fortune and Condition, ſided with the Rebels. *Zunchin* perceived, but too late, that Souldiers have a great ſhare in the ſupport and preſervation of Empires, and the greater, by the impoſſibility there is that great Empires ſhould not have potent Enemies. In his greateſt exigency and diſtreſs, he found he had not any Souldiers whom he had by the leaſt recompenſe engaged to ſtick firmly to the defence of his Perſon and State. He then underſtood, that his

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Treasure and Revenue had not been employed in those things which were necessary and important for his preservation. He was fully convinced, that his Imperial Grandeur was but ill supported, when he saw his Royal person abandoned, his Life and Empire reduced to its last period, and that there was now no remedy left, but that both he and the Empire must both perish together.

The *Tartarian* Emperour *Zunchi* saw clearly all these Disorders in the Government of *China*, and judging by the actions of the *Chineses*, that these ill Customs were strongly inrooted, he judged it the more important utterly to extirpate them. He therefore entred upon this Affair, with that care and resolution that it was not his fault, if afterwards Justice was not well regulated and executed in *China*. His Ministers of State and the Officers whom he employed were likewise very diligent herein. And certainly nothing could more effectually put a stop to these disorders, than to see the prudence

dence and fidelity of the Officers concur with the good intentions of their Master.

It was a thing very extraordinary to see with what uprightness and integrity all the Officers, both those who were really *Tartars*, and those who desired to be thought so, proceeded in the execution of their Charge. *Ly*, the famous Viceroy of *Canton*, who boasted that he was a *Tartar*, though he was believed to be a *Chinese*, when he was Commander of the Army, pillaged and plundered all places and persons; yet after, he was transformed to a very grave Magistrate, and acted as a most incorruptible Judge in all Causes which were brought before him, gained thereby a publick repute and esteem, as a most zealous person for the due execution of Justice and Equity. And as for the Plunder which he took in those Towns and Places which he had subdued, he justified himself as well as he could by the Law of Arms, which alwaies allows the General and Commanders in Chief a

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cosiderable part of the Booty, because they have so great an one in the peril and danger. And if the Souldiers under his Command took advantage of any opportunity to take what they could get, it was to be considered, that they had then no other way to subsist, there coming no Money from the Court to pay them with. Thus he endeavoured to put as fair a gloss as he could upon all his former actions, and endeavoured to excuse all that was past; and for the future, he acted so uprightly, and proceeded with so much honour and impartiality in the management of all Affairs, and obliged all the Officers under him to demean themselves so plausibly towards the people, that they willingly accepted of this fair Deportment, in recompense of all those mischiefs he had formerly done them.

The better to manifest the ability of this Person, I shall relate some Passages, which passed between him and a *Chinese Mandorin*, who was accused of Misdemeanor. An Inhabitant of *Canton*

tom came, and presented himself before the Vice-roy, and demanded Justice of him, in a Cause wherein he was concerned. The Vice-roy told him, that he could not take cognisance of his Cause, until a *Chinese Mandorin* had first heard it, and given Judgment therein; that he should go and demand Justice first of the *Chinese Mandorin*, and if after he desired to appeal from his Sentence, he might have recourse to him. *May it please Your Highness (saith the Plaintiff,) it is true, such a Mandorin should first judge my Cause, and I have already addressed my self to him, that I might have Justice done me: But I have for a long time prosecuted my business before him, and cannot obtain of him to decide or determine my Cause: And though I have very earnestly solicited him, yet it doth not appear, that he so much as thinks of me, I come therefore to supplicate Your Highness, that you would be graciously pleased either to do me Justice your self, or to cause the* Mandorin *to do it me.* Ly, who was not of a humour and disposition to suffer things to go

contrary to his will & intention, having heard this discourse, and being convinced of the truth thereof, *Bring* (saith he) *this Doctor before me*, and seeing him afterwards in the presence of a great number of persons, he severely reproved him, saying to him, *Mr. Doctor, you believe you are still under the ancient Government of* China, *and in a Trial for Three hundred Pounds, you will make the parties concerned expend Six hundred or a Thousand: That in all Causes the Judges shall be the only gainers; and that whensoever any person obtains a Judgment or Decree in his favour, he must first have wasted both his Time and Estate. But I'll make you know the times are changed, and that you have now to do with another Master* Xunchi, *the* Tartarian *Emperour. How comes it to pass, you have not determined this affair? How happens it, that you are pleased to prolong this Suit so long? You expect to bribed you infamous Villain? And you believe I do not understand that meaning. But I swear by the head of* Xunchi, *that if I ever hear*

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the like complaint of you again, it ſhall coſt you both that Place and your Head. Therefore if you have a mind to live any longer, diſpatch this affair quickly.

The *Mandorin* withdrew himſelf, fully determining to do juſtice therein, but he was forced and compelled to it. And all the other *Mandarins* and Officers, who were advertiſed hereof, reſolved to take advantage hereby, and to demean themſelves ſo as not to deſerve the like reproof. The common people, when they had heard what had paſſed, highly extolled their Governour for his Juſtice herein. This action of his was not only famed about the City, but throughout the whole Province, and all perſons did admire and applaud the Perſon and excellent Qualities of the Vice-roy of *Canton*.

This is all I could know in general of the Government of the *Tartars* in *China*, and in particular, how the young Emperour *Xunchi* and his Officers managed affairs. Theſe are men who are reputed dull and barbarous; but it is to be wiſhed, that many in *Europe*,

who are esteemed of, as the most refined and polite persons, had the Justice and Humanity of these *Barbarians*.

Chap. XXVIII.

The Tartars *compel the* Chiefes *to leave their Books, and take up Arms. Of the* Tartarian *Letters and Language. The Sciences for which they have the greatest inclination.*

LEarning and Arms may be considered in a State, as the two Poles upon which the Government turnes, and by which it subsists; so that either of them cannot be laid aside, but it must in a manner occasion a *vacuum*, and thereby debilitate the body Politick. But it is most certain that the want of Arms and knowledge in Military affairs, may have more dangerous consequences than the want of Books,

Books, and ignorance in the learned Arts and Sciences, which ſtand in need of Arms and Souldiers to protect and defend them. Which is clearly manifeſt by the late Revolution of *China*, which the *Tartar* underſtood ſo well, that he thought himſelf obliged to remedy that ill, as well as he could, knowing that that which had given him ſo great advantage, might prove as much to his diſadvantage, if he did not ſhun and avoid it. We have ſeen ſeveral very potent Monarchies which have had no need of Learning to confirm and ſtrengthen their Dominion. The *Spaniards* have fought above five thouſand Battels in thoſe times, when they did not think of writing of Books. And we may eaſily perceive, that they have not made much uſe of them in thoſe remote Conqueſts which they have made of later years. The *Tartars* ſaid very well, a State cannot be maintained without Arms, but it may without Books. For it is moſt certain that neighbouring Princes are too jealous of the Power and

and Grandeur of each other, to let one another long be at quiet: Nay, the very rumour that any one of them raises Souldiers or makes warlike preparations, necessitates in a manner all the others to arm likewise. It is their Sword which must do them right and justice. And they know full well, that it is no matter to those who have that power in their hands whether their right be grounded or no upon the most plausible and strongest reason.

Yet the *Tartar*, not to render himself odious to the *Chineses*, thought he ought not quite to prohibit them to apply themselves to Books and Study. He thought this was a point which must be touched but nicely since the whole Nation was so addicted to, and had so great an esteem for Learning. Therefore in the beginning of the year 1647 there were above three hundred Scholars who took the degree of Doctor, in the City of *Nanking*, as heretofore they did at *Peking*; and above 600. others were admitted as Licentiats, besides a great number of those

those who took the degree of Batchelor. It is not in *Europe* only, that there is such store of Doctors and Batchelors.

Xunchi was willing to give the *Chineses* this satisfaction, though the expences hereof were very great, and were to be defrayed out of the Emperours Exchequer. This was no small mark of his Liberality, and his condescention in being pleased to gratifie the *Chineses* herein: But withal he gave them to understand that he should be necessitated to reform their Studies, and their over bookishness: and that now Scholars must give place and precedence to Souldiers as heretofore Souldiers were slighted, and Scholars only esteemed and rewarded.

As in all States and Countries men voluntarily apply themselves to those employments by which they may attain the greatest Honour and Profit. So the *Chineses* seeing Learned men the only rich and honourable persons in *China*, they ambitiously applied themselves to the studious and learned Sciences. *Xunchi* therefore thought fit solely to honour

nour and gratifie the Souldiery. This was sufficient to enduce the *Chineses* to quit their Studies, and turn Souldiers. Let every one according to their reason and inclination pass their censure upon these two Professions: yet this must be granted, that all that can be said by those, who by their manner of Life have declared themselves partial to Learning, is only this; that esteem and merit should equally be divided to persons of each of these Professions proportionable to their skill and industry in either of them. But then this must be granted, that Gown-men and Pen men, who are freest from danger, are in the readier way to Preferment. Whereas a Souldier, after he hath hazarded his Life in several Fights and Seiges, usually hath no other recompense than to lose his Life at last in some other engagement. Very many persons, even those who, for their eminent services, have deserved to be highly recompensed: have had no better fortune.

The *Tartarian* Emperour was of opinion, that Military Employments were

were moſt meritorious, becauſe they were expoſed to ſo great perils. Therefore though he ſtill encouraged Learning in *China*, and ſent into each Province thereof two Vice-roys (as there was before) the one a Gown-man, to whom was entruſted the adminiſtration of Juſtice in Civil affairs, the other a Souldier, who had the direction of all Military concerns: yet he manifeſted a greater eſteem for thoſe, who embraced the Military Profeſſion, even ſo far, as to make ſeveral Scholars, whom he judged were fit to make Souldiers, quit their Gowns and take up Arms. He was likewiſe very careful to reward his Souldiers, if he knew they had merited it, though they were in places very remote from his perſon, yet when they leaſt expected it he ſent them Preſents and Gratuities. Upon this account, in the year 1647. in the Month of *Auguſt*, he commanded a very conſiderable *Mandorin*, who was aſſiſtant to the royal Council at *Peking*, to go from thence to *Canton*, to carry Preſents to the two Vice-roys thereof.

thereof. Though it was a thousand Miles from one of these Cities to the other; yet the *Mandorin* having no other business, in obedience to his Order, went so great a journey. The Presents were two Gold Cups, set with Precious stones, and two very rich Suits of Clothes. *Xunchi*, knowing that the two Vice-roys had equally, in the Reduction of that Province, upon all occasions, and in all engagements with the Enemy, given great proofs of their Valour, designed to give equal Honour to their persons and merits. It is not therefore to be wondred at, that that Prince had so many gallant and brave Souldiers, since he was so careful and sollicitous to recompense the services of his own Commanders, that he sent such magnificent Presents to those, who were at such a distance from his Court, and for this intent alone he employed the principal persons in his State to go and acquaint them how satisfied His Majesty was with their Fidelity and Courage. Princes can never want brave Souldiers, if they carefully

carefully reward them, but it will be difficult for them to retain such in their Services, unless by their actions they shew, that they know both how to value and reward them.

Several Gown-men, even those who were in very considerable employments, when they saw that it was not likely they should advance themselves, if they applyed themselves solely to the study of their Laws, presently put themselves into Military commands. We have already seen the Conduct of the Lord Chief Justice of *Canton*, or the Viceroy in Civil affairs. But that it may be known, what opinion this Gown-man had at that time of his own Profession: I shall relate how he expressed himself upon this Subject to a Friend of his. This person though he was not very Learned, was made Justice or *Mandorin* in Civil affairs in the City of *Canton*; Every person in *China*, who had but the least smattering in Learning, yet he thought himself a great Doctor if he was advanced to the dignity of a *Mandorin*. But this person shew'd

shew'd he had more worth in him than the rest, since he did so ingeniously acknowledg and allow his disability. In all parts there are very few that pretend to be Scholars, who will acknowledg a deficiency in Learning: but there are fewer, who will make a sincere Confession of their Ignorance. Yet this man did very ingeniously tell the Vice-Roy that he had not Learning enough to qualify him to be a *Mandorin*, and and therefore if his Excellency would please to give him an employment more proportionable to his capacity, he should acknowledg himself the more obliged. The Vice-Roy demanded of him wherein he thought himself insufficient? he replyed, that he could not write or form the *Chineses* Caracters fair enough; *Go* (saith the Vice-Roy) *you have but too much Learning for these times: when all persons who hope to make themselves any ways considerable, but leave their Books and turn Souldiers. Do not believe, or fancy, that hereafter in all Suits or Trials at Law, it will be thought necessary to write*

write ſo much, or examine ſo many Writings and Deeds. You muſt only attentively hear both parties, and give them a verbal diſpatch: be exact in this and reſolve to do juſtice. Truth and Juſtice are not ſo concealed and hid from our knowledg and ſight, that we ſhould ſearch for them in places where they are ſcarce ever to be found, in the Whirle-pooles, and bottomleſs pits of Law-ſuits. The *Mandorin* underſtood full well the Vice Roys meaning, and thanked his Excellency for the Charge he was pleaſed to beſtow on him, and the good Advice he gave him, and taking leave of him, he told him, *My Lord, I am ſufficiently qualified, if diligence and good intentions do ſufficiently capacitate me for the execution of my Charge.*

Thus *Xunchi* very calmly, and without any violence reformed the abuſes and frauds of the *Chineſe* Pen-men and Gown-men, and was well enough pleaſed that the Souldiers and Officers, did publickly deride and ſpeak againſt that lazy and unneceſſary Occupation; Nothing did more advance, than this did,

did, the alteration which that Prince designed to introduce. And this occasioned several very pleasant passages: Once a *Chinese Mandorin* was obliged to quarter in his house a *Tartarian* Captain, a person highly considered amongst those of his own Nation, and he had a very good lodging in the *Mandorins* house, and all the accommodation he could wish for. The *Mandorin*, who was very ambitious of the fame and repute of a very learned man, had a very fine Library, which doubtless was furnished with more Learning than his head was. The best and most Lightsome Rooms of his were filled with Books, and he called those Lodgings *Xufan*, which signifies a very airy place, and it was in truth cooled with a very refreshing air which prevented dust and worms which spoyl Books.

When the *Tartar* saw this place, he judged it a more convenient Lodging than those he had, and that they made very ill use of it to lodge only the dead there. He went therefore to his Landlord, and said to him, *Mr. Mandorin*,

you

you must quickly clear me this place, and turn out these learned Lawyers and Law-books, or else I and my Soldiers will make wadds for our Guns with them, or make use of of them for Papers to put our Tobacco *in. And you shall see that we know better how to employ them than you do.* This was to shew no great esteem for that which the *Mandorin* so highly boasted of. But he must not argue in their defence, but quickly remove his Books. And in truth he had no reason to make any great complaint, if he made no great use of them, but kept them there only for shew and ostentation, and for the fame of having a great Library. Though the *Tartar* scoffingly boasted all over *China* how he had made the *Mandorin* displace his Books.

This was all the esteem the *Tartars* had for Books or any learned Sciences, to which they little applyed themselves, unless it was out of a desire to have some knowledg in the *Mathematicks* and *Astrology*. For whereas they adore the Heavens, they were well

well enough pleased to be able to discourse of the Stars, and to entertain themselves with that, which is the very ground and fundamentals of their Religion, but they mattered not much for any deep Learning herein. The *Tartars* publish every year their Almanacks or Calenders, which are little different from the *Chineses*. That in the year 1647. was the first which was set forth under the name, and by the order of the Emperour *Xunchi*. This was a very curious piece, and the Author thereof was Father *Adam* the *Jesuit*, who was very skilful in the *Mathematicks*, and was then in great favour and credit with the Emperour.

The *Tartars* did not more villifie or contemn the *Political* and *Moral* Philosophy of the *Chineses*, though they thought it not worth their time to study it. They often very rationally said to them, That it was much better to have fewer Laws, and to observe them better. That there was no need to make so many Statutes and Ordinances, but to give good examples; for to know

know good, and not to practice it, ſerves only to heighten and aggravate mens iniquities.

The Letters and Characters which the *Tartars* make uſe of, reſemble thoſe of *Japan*; and both of them are only ſome traces of the *Chineſes* Characters: but they are much plainer, eaſier, and not ſo myſterious as thoſe of *China*: And are therefore more approved of, nay than any which are uſed by the *Aſiatick* people, or even by the *Europeans*, who dwell in the *Indies* and the *Philippin* Iſles, who becauſe they have learnt the manners and cuſtoms of thoſe Nations, make uſe of ſuch fantaſtical Characters, that they can ſcarce read their own Writing, and are often obliged to gueſs at the greateſt part: They point all their Letters at the top and bottom, as the *Hebrew* Characters are, and this makes them Cyphers and Hieroglyphicks, rather than Letters.

It is remarked that the *Tartarian* Language hath ſomething in it very grave and majeſtick, It hath many vowels as the *Spaniſh* hath: And na-

turally they pronunce it with force and violence, and with a Warlike accent, which makes it appear rough and rude. But because it is so pronounced by Souldiers, who usually speak more fiercely than others, especially those who desire to be reputed Hectors, we cannot draw from them a general rule. Doubtless the Courtiers speak with a more polite and refined accent, as as they do in all Courts, where, it is to be wished, they were as careful to do well, as they are accurate to speak well.

Strangers easily learn this Language, because it hath not so many Determinations and Accents as the *Chinese* hath, which render it the most difficult and troublesome Language in the whole Universe. In all the Relations I have seen, there was no term or expression in the *Tartarian* Language, which might give us some example or essay thereof, except the word *Pelipaouan*, which was the name of one of the Kings Uncles; *Peli* is a *Tartarian* word, and of no rough or rude pronunciation,

on, unleſs compared with the ſoftneſs and ſmoothneſs of the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Tongues: it ſignifies Prince. And *Van*, which is a *Chineſe* word, hath the ſame ſignification; ſo that Prince is twice comprehended in that name. If in *Corea*, or in any other place *Pao* ſignifies the ſame thing. Then *Pelipaouan* is as much as to ſay thrice Prince, or the thrice great Prince. This repetition may ſeem ſuperfluous, and though it be expreſſed in three different Languages, yet the ſignification may be thought not to be altered. But in the *Chineſe* Language, and perhaps it is the ſame in the *Tartarian*, theſe repetions add a great weight to the ſignification: Which may be confirmed herein by the Hiſtories of *China*, in which it may be ſeen, that they called by the name *Chium* all the Princes and Monarchs upon the Earth, except their own, to whom they reputed all others far inferiour; and they gave the title of *Van* to the Princes of the Blood Royal of *China*. But becauſe they did not eſteem either of

these two names sufficient to express the majestick Grandeur of their Emperours, they thought by joyning these two words together, and thereby composing the word *Chiumval*, it would much better suit the Grandeur of their Monarch: Therefore they invented a Title worthy of their King, whom they call *Chiumval*, thereby to render him the greater honour.

Thus we may discern that this Nation, by adding together several words which have the same signification, intend thereby to frame a word of a higher and fuller signification, and a supereminent Name, which may comprehend them all in one. This was the weight and signification of the word *Pelipaonan*, which was as illustrious a Title, as that person was amongst those people, who was dignified with it. 'Tis very worthy of remark to observe, that the Emperour *Xunchi* was so far from being offended, that these high Titles were given to Princes, who, though they were his neer Relations, were yet his Subjects; that

that on the contrary, he confided much in them, and made them Governors and Rulers over several great Provinces, with a Power and Authority suitable to their quality. It was a great argument that *Xunchi* by giving so great a power to *Pelipaouan*, who by birth was a great Prince, and likewise took upon him the title of Conqueror of *China*, did not much matter those reasons of State, which might be alledged against this Conduct: or else he was highly convinced of the fidelity of the *Tartarian* Princes. Or finally, that the *Tartarian* Kings are less jealous of their Soveraign Power than other Princes are, and that the Princes who are their Subjects, are not so passionately affected with Glory, and ambitious of reigning.

Chap. XXIX.

How much addicted the Tartars *are to War. Their Arms offensive and defensive. Their greatest force consists in their Horse. The excellency of their Horses.*

The *Tartars* cannot live out of Arms and War; they affect and desire nothing so much as to be always in the field, and have Enemies to fight with, which is the joy and pleasure of their Life. They never think themselves so graceful and handsome as when they appear with their faces full of seams and scars; whereas other Nations are so careful to keep their Faces smooth and beautiful, their Complexions clear and fair, their Hair, or rather their Periwigs, curled, poudred, and perfumed, to the shame, not only of their Nation, but nature too,

too, who made them Men and not Women, whom they do ſo much imitate, and like whom they ſo ſtrive to appear. The *Tartars* are far from this effeminacy, and are ſo tranſported with a violent paſſion for Arms and Souldiery, that all the beautiful Provinces of *China* have been turned into forges, in which the *Tartars* employ an infinite number of Work-men in making inceſſantly all ſorts of Arms. All the Black-ſmiths and all ſorts of Work-men, who work in either Iron or Metal throughout that vaſt Empire, have been ſolely taken up with making Arms. If any one ſhould be ſo curious, as to be inquiſitive wherefore the *Tartars* make ſo many Arms? I know not how to anſwer them, but that to believe they deſign to make Arms enough for the whole world. All the fine Libraries in *China* were turned into Armories and Magazines, for Warlike proviſions. Heretofore it would have been difficult to have found a Sword, though old and ruſty, unleſs amongſt the Souldiers

Souldiers. If the *Chineses* were engaged in any quarrel, they contented themselves with plucking one another by the hair of the Head, or the Beard, or else scratching; and those who were not armed with Nailes long enough, decided it at fisticuffs. The *Chineses* did so naturally make use of their Nails instead of Arms, that those who would be reputed hectoring Gallants, thought it an ornament, to have their Nails as long as the Talents of a Hawk or Eagle. It is so true, that they never made use of Arms in *China*, that though they had very many able and expert Physitians, they had not one Chirurgion in the whole Country; for they had no Wounds for them to practise upon. As for all accidental Hurts, outward Swellings, Imposthumes, and such like Distempers, Physitians undertook the Cure thereof. But after the *Tartars* had subdued *China*, all sorts of persons wore Arms: Nay little Children of eight years old, especially if their Parents were of quality, had a Hanger or Scymitar begirt about

about their waſte, which gave occaſion to the *Chineſes* both to laugh at, and pity the little Children, that in ſo tender an age they ſhould be troubled to carry ſo unneceſſary and uſeleſs a burden.

The *Tartars* exerciſed their Souldiers every day before the Palaces of their Vice-Roys: There they drew up the Troops in Battalia, and fired at one another with their Muskets and Guns as eagerly, as if two Armies had been contending for Victory. They had likewiſe Priſes, and perſons appointed to take notice of, and recompenſe the addreſs and expertneſs of thoſe who ſhot with Bows and Guns every day at a mark. Whoſoever hit the mark with three Bullets, or three Arrows, had given him, as a reward, a little piece of Siver Plate, faſhioned like a ſhell, worth about four *Julio's*; (a *Julio* is in value about ſix pence ſterling:) He who hit the mark twice had one worth about two *Julio's*; and he who hit it but once had one only of the value of one *Julio*. But they who miſſed

missed the mark thrice were instantly bastinado'd. And to disgrace them the more, were publickly hooted and hissed at, or else had some other affront put upon them. The *Tartars* were not obliged to these exercises, but the *Chinejes* of those Provinces, who had submitted themselves, that by custome they might learn not to be afraid of Guns or Arms. They designed by this continual exercise, to disaccustome them from that Effeminacy and Lazines, in which they had lain so long buried. These idle Fellows would very willingly have been excused from this trouble. But they deserved to be learnt by their Enemies the exercise of Arms, that they might carry them in their Service, since they so little concerned themselves, to make use of them in the defence of their own Country, and for the preservation of themselves.

As for the several sorts of Arms the *Tartars* make use of: The Defensive are, Breast-plates and Back-pieces, Head-pieces, Shoulder-pieces and Vambraces,

Vambraces, which are in a manner like the defenſive Arms in *Europe*, but their Armour is not ſo bright, nor ſo well wrought, which makes them who wear them look the more terrible and dreadful. The Viſer of ther Helmet is not faſtned and rivited to the Cask as in *Europe*; but is only a looſe plate of Iron very ſtrong, which covers the face, throat, and ſhoulders, and is ſeperated from the Helmet when they pleaſe. They likewiſe have ſeveral other pieces and plates of Iron, with which they cover the head, throat, neck and ſhoulders. Theſe are to defend them in Fights from ſhowers of Arrows, which fall thick, and might pierce an Artery, or wound them ſo deep in thoſe parts as might cauſe ſo great an effuſion of Blood, as might be very dangerous. And therefore they defend thoſe parts with all the caution imaginable; for the defence of the reſt of their body, they make uſe of certain Buff Coats made very wide and large, and quilted in the inſide with Cotton. When they

are

are at their own houſes and in peace, they wear theſe Coats, but then they are not ſo well lined.

Their Offenſive Arms are Bows and Arrows, ſhort Swords and Lances: Their ſhort Swords are pointed in the faſhion of the *Turkiſh* Scymitars. They are uſually very ſhort but heavy, they have very ſharp edges, and are excellently well tempered. They make uſe likewiſe of another ſort of Swords, which are very broad, and are by the *Chineſes* and *Japanners* called *Catanes*; there are ſome of theſe very great, and are two handed like the *Swiſſers* Swords: The faſhion of the Handles both of their ſhort and broad Swords is not extraordinary, but they are made of Gold, Silver or Braſs, according to the Riches or Curioſity of the owners. they have no Pikes, judging them not convenient for their manner of fighting. Their Lances are very ſhort, and they uſe them as we do Haltbards or Partiſans But their Bows and Arrows are their moſt honourable Weapons, of which they are very

very proud, and take pleaſure in ſhewing how skilfully they can ſhoot with them, which they do ſo dexterouſly, that ſeveral perſons with one draught of the Bow will let fly three or four Arrows at a time, with that force and violence, that ſhould they at a due diſtance hit any man, the lighteſt would pierce him quite thorough. Their Bows are rather little than great. They are light but very ſtrong and ſolid. Their Arrows are ſome long, ſome ſhort, but all ſo ſtrong, that they will pierce through a ſtiff board: The Iron heads are made four ſquare, or triangular, but long and extraordinary well pointed and tempered.

They had no Fire Arms, when they firſt entred into *China*: But as ſoon as they had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome places, they took out all the great Guns, Muskets and Fire Arms, which they found, and made uſe of them ever afterwards. But they never employed any *Tartars* as Cannoneers and Gunners, but only *Chineſes*, and ſome few *Europeans*: Nor ſuffered

red any to carry Muskets or Fire Arms, but only the *Chineses* of those Provinces which had submitted themselves, with whom they encreased their Army, that they might the sooner compleat their Conquest. As for Petards or Fire-works, they neither know how to make them or use them, nor how to spring a Mine. It may seem strange, that the *Tartars* would thus put their best Weapons into the hands of their new Subjects, and not learn how to handle them themselves. That they should train up both Citizens and Countrey people in their Military Discipline: For which several persons censure the Conduct of *Xunchi*, as likewise for entrusting the Princes of his Family with so great a Power. But this Monarch was convinced that the more he confided in his Uncles, the more he engaged and secured their Loyalty; and by manifesting how little he feared, and how much he slighted the *Chineses*, he made them the more dread his valour, and the courage of the *Tartars*. It is very true, that

that a long time after the *Chineſes* trembled if they did but hear his Name mentioned. And perhaps this great confidence and ſecurity of *Xunchi* did not prejudice his affairs. But this is moſt certain, that if it ſhould have proved pernicious and fatal to him, he would not have been the firſt or ſole Prince who was ruined and loſt by being too ſecure, and confident of his own power and force.

It remains that I ſhould ſpeak of that in which the chief ſtrength and force of the *Tartars* conſiſted, and by which they did almoſt ſolely conquer the Empire of *China*. And this may well be ſaid to have been their Horſes. There are indifferent handſome Horſes in *China*, but they are but weak, and they tire and loſe their Wind at the firſt Courſe. Neither are they ſo fit for the War as thoſe of *Tartary*, which are long winded, ſtout, ſtrong, well ſet, and excellently ſhaped, and are all fit to make War-horſes; and withall they are ſo nimble and ſwift, that it is a great pleaſure to ſee them gallop

lop over the most ragged Hills and Mountains, as if it was in a plain Meadow. As for shape and strength, they come not short of the Horses either in *Europe* or *Arabia*. But all the Horses upon Earth; yield them the advantage of a certain highness of mettle and spirit, which cannot be described, and keeps always in heart. As for those who ride them, they are seated as firmly, and as gracefully, as if their Horse and they were of one piece. But they apply themselves to this exercise when they are very young, and never quit it as long as they live. There are several *Tartars* who will tye the Rains of the Bridle to their Girdles, and only by the motion of their Body guide and govern their Horses as they please, make them turn upon all the Volts, and go any kind of Manage. By this means they have their hands free to make use of their Bows and Arrows. Others will hold their Bow with the same hand they do their Bridle, and at the same time draw their Bow and guide their

their horſe with great facility. It was theſe *Tartarian* horſes which overthrew all the *Chineſes* which durſt oppoſe them. And it may be ſaid, that theſe were the Conquerors of *China*; for the *Chineſes* having no Pikes to defend themſelves, and keep off the horſe; fifty thouſand Horſe, as there was in the leaſt Army of the *Tartars*, and in that in which the Emperour commanded in perſon, above a hundred thouſand, did preſently break through, and rout all the *Chineſes* Armies. Theſe Horſes, ſo bold and high mettled, broke through all oppoſition, and made a clear paſſage where ever they went; and beſides they were ſo numerous, and ſpurred on by ſo reſolute men, that there are few Armies which can reſiſt them, much leſs thoſe of *China*, and ſuch like, where they have no ſtands of Pikes, nor cloſe Battalions, nor Horſes equal to thoſe of *Tartary*.

The *Tartars* ride with their Stirrups very ſhort, and all the furniture of their horſes is not uſually either curious

or rich, but durable and serviceable, for their manner of fighting. The greatest force of the *Tartars* consists in their Horse, their Foot are nothing in comparison: which is not so in the Armies of *Europe*. Their Horse goes on first upon all occasions, and they are ever the first and last at all assaults. Finally, it was they who began and compleated in so short a time the entire Conquest of the vast Empire of *China*.

Chap. XXX.

The Military Discipline of the Tartars. *Their manner of Fighting, and how they lay Siege to any place. The aversion they have to dwell in Towns. The Security with which they sleep in their Camp, without placing either any Guards or Sentinels.*

IT is only for the disorders and confusion which is in the Armies of the *Tartars*,

Tartars, that that Nation can paſs for barbarous: For they obſerve ſo little order, that it's rather by the number of their men, and their boldneſs and reſolution, than by any skill or knowledge how to draw up their Armies in Battalia, or to fight their men, that they obtain ſo great Victories. There is nothing regular in all their warfare, either when they fight any Battels, lay ſiege to, or ſtorm any place: whereas the *Chineſes* did uſually defend themſelves with all the order and regularity they could poſſibly. The *Tartars*, on the contrary, to conquer and vanquiſh them, made uſe only of force and fury, with a great contempt of Death, to which they run with a joy and eagerneſs, as if they went immediately to glory and triumph. During the four years of their War with the *Chineſes*, they had continually ſeveral Armies on foot at the ſame time. They paſſed inceſſantly from one Province to another, either to enlarge their Conqueſts, or ſecure their Victories; ſo that nothing was

seen throughout that vast Country, but Troops of Horse, or Companies of Foot. Each of these Armies were usually composed of two hundred thousand men, fifty thousand Horse, and the rest Foot. But there was not that distinction of Officers, as there is in the Armies of *Europe*. There was only a certain number of Captains, and instead of those several Colours, and Standards, which are displayed in other parts, there was only one Standard, under which the whole Army, both Horse and Foot, served. Therefore, whensoever there is any mention made of the Standards and Colours of the *Tartars*, it is only according to the usual custome of speaking by the Soldiers in *Europe*, to intimate a certain number of their Forces, to avoid the often repetition of Troops and Armies.

The *Tartars* march with no better order, than they draw up their Armies in Battalia. They go divided into severall little Bodies together, without observing either rank

or file, and march either more open or close, as the ways will permit them. The Horse marches first as the vant-guard, and the Foot follow after as a reserve. When they are ready to march, as a signal, the harsh sound of their Trumpet is heard; and afterwards it sounds no more, no not when they give battel, or charge their Enemy. They have neither Drum nor Fife, nor any such like Instrument. But it is only the sound of this Trumpet which is a signal to them to begin their march, and this is the occasion of so great a commotion, that it may well serve to mind us of that at the last day of Judgment. Before the Army is carried a Banner, or Standard, indifferent large, for which all the Troops have a great veneration. This is the only one they have in the whole Army, and it is something like those which in the Church of *Rome* they have in their Churches. Whensoever they either charge their Enemies, or storm any place, they are obliged to follow this Standard which way soever it goes.

Therefore as soon as he who carries it, who is ever some eminent Captain, and is always accompanied with the most couragious Souldiers of the Army, begins the assault, the whole Army at the same time falls on. The Horse makes ever the first attempt, then the Infantry follow, without any order or conduct, but tumultuously and confusedly, according as each person can close with his enemy. There is neither right nor left wing, main battel, nor reserve. They have no distinct Squadrons or Battalions, neither do they regard to keep either rank or file: Nor do they observe any distinction of time in shooting with their Bows, or making use of their Lances and short Swords. But all this numerous multitude move together, and do precipitately fall on at the same time; that they may break through all opposition, like a Sea tossed with a violent storm, when the Waves press and drive on each other so incessantly, that the first are no sooner broke, but they are continually

ly seconded by others, with a new violence and impetuosity. Whensoever the *Tartars* have begun the Charge, they never think of taking breath, or making a retreat; nor are they discouraged to see any fall down dead or wounded; for they count it no loss to see a great number of their men lye dead in the Field, esteeming it the greatest glory to dye with their Arms in their hands, and knowing that they have men more than enough, to supply the place of the dead. They never sound any retreat, and mind nothing but either to conquer or dye. And this the sole order is given them to observe, unless they are totally defeated; for then it is free for them to run away, as they do in all other parts. If he who carries the Standard is either overthrown, or killed in the engagement, which happens very often; for he is always to present himself where the greatest danger is, then he who is next him, fails not to take up the Standard, and thus in one fight, or in one assault, it often

passes through the hands of several persons; neither is there ever wanting gallant and brave fellows, who strive and contend who shall take it up, and carry it, than which nothing can be more honourable and glorious.

But the manner how the *Tartars* besiege and take Towns, is both more extravagant and extraordinary than their way of fighting. The first thing they do when they lye before any place, is to storm it, and the last to raise their Batteries. The Horse make the first approach, and gives the first assault, which is just opposite to the practice of *Europe*, without any manner of shelter they go and present themselves before a place defended with strong Walls and Bulwarks, lined with all sorts of great Guns and Ordnance, sufficiently supplied with men, provisions, and ammunition: In this condition were several places in *China* when the *Tartars* assaulted them. Whereas in *Europe*, an Army which came to lay siege to any place, would be-

begin with opening their trenches, raiſing batteries, and after they had made a breach, then give the aſſault. The *Tartars* on the contrary began with ſtorming the Town, and after batter it. It is the Horſe, headed with the Captain, who carries the Standard, which makes all aſſaults, for which they make no great preparations. They only tye a great number of Ladders to their horſes tayles. And though theſe ladders are only one ſingle piece of timber, with ſeveral peggs ſtruck through: yet the *Tartars* make uſe of them as readily as we can of our ordinary Ladders. When they are thus prepared, the Standard-bearer claps ſpurs to his horſe, and fiercely rides up to the very foot of the wall, and is preſently followed by all the reſt of the Troops, who ſhout and cry out moſt hideouſly, thereby to ſtrike the greater terrour and dread into their enemies. This they do in all fights and aſſaults.

Though the Artillery of the Enemy play inceſſantly upon them, though great

great numbers of their men are cut off, yet all this doth not hinder the assailants from hotly pursuing their enterprise. The heaps of dead bodies do on the contrary facilitate their approach by filling up the ditch. In this manner they advance to the very foot of the wall, and then those who are nearest, light from their horses, which serve them afterwards as *Gabions* and *Parapets*. And then having raised their ladders against the wall, with an unparallell'd resolution and courage they mount up to the very top thereof. Now the besieged are almost in as great danger as the assailants. For those under the wall, who are to second those on the top, do incessantly shower down an infinite number of Arrows upon those within the walls. And they let fly their Arrows with that exactness, that they make them fall where they will, and they fly with that strength, that they strike quite through those who think themselves most secure and best defended. Thus those upon the Ladders quickly gain

gain the top of the Wall, and there either lying flat down, or kneeling on their knees, with their Arrows, they ply ſo warmely thoſe within, as well thoſe who man the Guns, as all thoſe who attempt to defend the walls, that they quickly beat them from their Artillery, and diſenable them from making uſe of any of their Arms. In the mean time freſh Troops draw near the place, and whilſt ſome are attempting to ſcale the Walls, others endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of a Gate, and to gain a paſſage into the Town; and in a little time, that is to ſay, as ſoon as any horſes can get in, by the noiſe and neighing they make, they quickly diſcover, that the Town is taken, and that all is now at the diſcretion of the Enemie. Thus the *Tartarian* horſes firſt proclaim the Victory. Theſe aſſaults, where the aſſailants do thus precipitately fall on, without the defence of any Arms, and without facilitating their aſſault by firſt making a breach, did uſually coſt them the loſs of many men, for which they

they revenged themselves upon those who could no longer defend themselves. Then the fury of the Conquerors was boundless, Revenge is the joy of their hears, from which they never desist till they have satiated themselves with the blood of the conquered.

But if by storm the *Tartars* make themselves not masters of the place, then they make use of their Artillery and batter the walls: And so conclude where the *Europeans* began, till after they have made all possible attempts to carry the place by storm, they fire not one Cannon, though they march into the field with a train of five hundred pieces of Ordnance, as *Felipaouan* did. Thus *Tartars* practise three things just opposite to what is done by those who better understand the Military Art. They begin first to storm, after they raise their batteries; and thirdly, they employ their Horse to storm Towns and scale Walls. There is nothing in human affairs which seems so irregular and extravagant

gant to ſome perſons, but is practiſed by others, who yet alledge arguments to juſtifie it, which they pretend to be ſolid and rational.

As for their march, of which we began to ſpeak, towards night the Trumpet ſounds, and then all the whole Army take up their quarters. Till this ſignal is given, they never make halt all the day long, but they either march or fight: Therefore as ſoon as they hear the Trumpet ſound, every man prepares to ſet up his Tent, which he takes out from the reſt of the baggage. Each Captain hath a Waggon for the baggage appertaining to himſelf, and to all thoſe under his command. The baggage of the whole Army never marches together: The Tents are either made of ſtrong Leather or raw hides, which are ſewed together, and made up indifferent handſomly. Each big and habitable enough, which it had need be, for it is their uſual habitation. Theſe Tents they pitch in great order with Market-places and Streets, like as in great Towns,

Towns, and are placed after the manner of the houſes of the *Turks* in the Country. The *Tartars* chooſe rather to live in theſe Tents than in Cities and Towns, in which they ſay, they are choaked up in a croud, and have not their health; whereas when they are encamped in the fields under their Tents, and breath in the clear air, there they are ſtrong and luſty. It is moſt certain that all things to which men will accuſtome themſelves, by continuance will become pleaſant and agreeable; nay, even labour and toyl; it is but enduring it ſome time: whereas idleneſs and the effeminate pleaſures of this life grow at length weariſome, and burdenſome to thoſe who have any long time enjoyed them. There are ſome Gally-ſlaves, which would not be pleaſed to be taken from the Oar, time and cuſtom hath ſo ſweetned the hardſhip to them. Cuſtome is very potent, nay it works miracles. This it was which prevailed ſo far with the *Tartars*, that it induced them to eſteem the palaces and fine houſes in Cities incon-

convenient for their health. They never were better in health, and more at eaſe, than when they were encamped in the moſt vaſt and ſpatious fields, and were neceſſitated to ſuffer all the inconveniences of the air and ill weather; from hence it was, that they were ſo averſe to live in Towns. But perhaps they have now changed their humour; for though they were ſo well content, to toyl and take pains during the time of their Conqueſt, yet it being but too true, that we do with greater facility accuſtom our ſelves to eaſe and pleaſure than to hardſhip and labour; it is probable, that in time they will accuſtom themſelves to the luxury and effeminacy of the *Chineſes*.

But we muſt now return to viſit the *Tartars* in their Tents; whither they withdraw themſelves to feaſt and make merry. Their meat is uſually young Horſe-fleſh, which they dreſs after their faſhion; and as for their Horſes, they feed them with Rice, which is better meat than the fleſh they eat: They drink and eat with as good a ſtomach,

mach, as they fight and take pains, and presently after fall asleep with as little disturbance as if they had no enemies in the World. They never regard to place any Guards or Sentinels: And the Rounds they go never wakens any body. Thus all night there is a profound silence in their Camp, without the least noise, but sometimes the neighing of Horses. In the very heat of the War they slept as quietly, and with as little disturbance. It is only *Barbarians* who are capable of this arrogant presumption, to sleep thus securely amidst Arms and War, as if all was their own: For they are intoxicated with such an opinion of their valour, that they think there is no person upon earth hath the courage to give them an alarm. They are no more diffident, and have no stricter a Guard in the Towns, where they keep garrison, unless in *Canton*, and some few other places, where the *Corsairs* did incessantly allarm them, and thereby necessitated them to keep some Soldiers always under their Arms. This

was

was not the cuſtom of the *Chineſes*, for they for above two hundred and eighty years, kept the ſtricteſt Guard they could poſſibly in all their Towns, and were in ſuch a continual fear, that with their inſtruments and ſhooting, they made ſuch a horrid noiſe all night, that no body could ſleep in quiet: yet after they had watched ſo ſtrictly for ſo many years, when their Enemies were above twelve hundred miles from any of their Provinces; they were unfortunately aſleep when it concerned them to have been moſt watchful. The *Chineſes* made a great noiſe when they ſaw no body, but when the Enemy was neer them, they ſcarce durſt lift up their voice ſo loud as to call out, Arm, arm; ſo far were they from going to meet their Enemy, or diſputing with him the entrance into their Provinces. Finally, they were no more ſafe for having kept ſo good a guard; whereas the *Tartar* conquered all their vaſt Empire, and yet ſlept in quiet, confidently relying on his own ſtrength,

and knowing that his valour was so dreaded by his enemies, that they durst not attacque him; which verifies the vulgar saying, that *he whose Reputation is up may lie in bed.*

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Behaviour of the Tartars. *Of their Natural inclination to War and Labour. Of their frank and free dealing, without any ceremony. Of their Divertisements, Occupations, and Employments in general.*

THE *Tartars*, who conquered *China*, are generally proper men, and well shaped, only their shoulders are broad, but the rest of their Limbs are well proportioned. But they are very sturdy and strong, which makes them appear rather rough and unhewn, than nice or effeminate. Neither are they affected with neat and fine clothes,

clothes, and by the brawnyneſs of their hands, it may be ſeen, that they can go very well without Gloves. All their Gallantry is to be in action, and make a buſtle: Naturally they love to take pains, and they may be compar'd to thoſe antient *Roman Souldiers*, born and bred in the Country, of whom one of their Poets ſaith; That after they had dy'd the Sea with the blood of *Africa*, after they had defeated *Antiochus*, *Pyrrhus*, and *Hannibal*, they returned to their Country life, and went out in the morning with a ſpade upon their ſhoulders, and returned at night with a burden of wood, which their Mothers, who bred them not up nicely, had taught them to carry.

The *Tartars* have not ordinarily their complexions ſo fair as the *Chineſes*; there is not much difference uſually in their faces, unleſs it be that ſome are more black and tann'd. They have thicker beards, which, for the moſt part, are either black or red, but they cut it quite off, leaving only a

tuft on the middle of their chin. They have no Mustaches, but for all that, they are very gallant fellows. Which is an argument that men (at least in that Country) may have courage, though they have no Mustaches. They wear their hair very short, or rather none at all, being willing to discharge themselves of that, of which they have so little need. Their Behaviour and out-side is not at all warlike, nor doth it shew any great mark of courage or resolution: they make a sport of work and labour, to which they have been accustomed from their Infancy; which make them, that they cannot live without it. They are not charmed with the pleasures of an idle and easie life, which they account dishonourable and ignoble; and that which is yet more, they are as indefatigable, dexterous, and as able to go through with their enterprises, as they are hot and fierce to enter upon them. Mans Life requires labour, and dexterity, as well as several other things, and we must sometimes incline to one side,

ſide, that we may counterpoiſe the other. The *Tartars* are as fit for contrivance as execution: And though they do not break their brains, with ſcratching out crafts and ſubtilties, or ſtudying the artifice, or rather malice, which is accounted hability and ſtrength of Wit; yet they underſtand very well their affairs, and diſcern, as far as mans capacity will reach, what is, and what is not according to the right rule of reaſon.

But it is remarked that there is a great inequality in their humours; for in time of peace they are like other men, and very different from what they are in time of war, when they are fierce, cruel, unmerciful, and take delight in ſhedding the blood of their enemies: whereas at other times they are mild, courteous, affable, and ſtrive to be civil and complaiſant to all perſons. It is not ſtrange, that men ſhould not always be of the ſame temper, though they do not manifeſt ſuch a contrariety of their humours, which ſome perſons do ſo diſguiſe, that it

cannot be known either when they are angry or when they are pleased. But the *Tartars* do not at all resemble these persons; they never conceal anything that lies in their breast, they can neither counterfeit a false joy, nor hide a true one: If they laugh it is heartily, and if they are displeased their face will shew it. Therefore they say it is better to be passionate than treacherous; for which reason they will not compliment and cringe to a man whom they curse in their heart: and will sooner cut off a mans arms than embrace him in theirs, if they love him not. Wherefore they may pray and wish sincerely, that sincerity might prosper and be practised, and that treachery and dissimulation (the enemie to human society) might be extirpated. As for our politick dissimulation in *Europe*, they mock and scorn at it: If they were addicted to Fables and Fictions, they might say that *Saturn's* Reign and the golden Age was gone from *Europe* into *Tartary*.

That in which they take the greatest

teſt pride is to have fine horſes, about which they uſually buſie themſelves: and this may be ſaid to be their greateſt vanity, and their ſole occupation from their very cradle. There is nothing which they will not make their horſes do, and they do as exactly perform all that their riders put them to, as if they had the very ſame intellectuals with them; for they are trained up, and managed to that accurateneſs, that they may be thought to obey not only the motions of the bridle, but the very thoughts and intentions of their riders.

As for the actions of the *Tartars* in their converſation, they are ſuch as manifeſt them not to perſons who ſtand ſo much upon ceremony as the *Chineſes* did: there is not that cringing to them, nor thoſe proſtitutions to the very ground as the *Chineſes* Mandorins compelled all perſons to do before them. The *Tartars* will ſcarce pay ſuch adoration to their Gods, and therefore think it not fit to be done to men: When ever the *Chineſes*, who

were accustomed to these sordid Flatteries, come to make all these low submissions to the *Tartars*, they either reproved them, or else they scoffed and derided them so, as thereby to let them understand they expected no such ceremonies.

The Civilities which are used amongst the *Tartars* do somewhat resemble those which are practised in *Europe*; when they salute any person, they stretch out their right hand and then bow their bodies a little, and when they have raised themselves upright again, they put their hand towards their mouth. When they would return thanks for any Present, Compliment, or any obliging expression, they stretch their right hand towards their knees, especially if they are sitting, and then they lay the handle of their Sword upon the same knee, and raising up themselves a little, they bow their head, as if they would kiss their right hand; when two friends meet in the streets, they never uncover their heads; which would be there as ridiculous

culous as if any one in *Europe* ſhould, upon the like occaſion, pluck off his ſhooes. They only ſalute each other, either with the ordinary civility of ſtretching out their arm, bringing it back to their mouth, or elſe kiſſing their hand; and then they diſcourſe of their affairs; or if there be a more than ordinary friendſhip between them, and that they are much joyed to ſee one another, they then embrace, and by the kind reception they give each other, they teſtifie their joy.

The *Chineſe* men had always Fans in their hands, as Women have in other Countries: If they were either in their own houſes, or making viſits, or in the ſtreets, or Temples, they were never without Fans, even the common ſort of people. The *Spaniards* in the *Philipine* Iſles, who were uſed to ſee them with theſe Arms in their hands, did no longer wonder at it. But the *Tartars* could not refrain breaking out into laughter, as at a thing which they thought

thought very ridiculous; and they asked them scoffingly, If these were not the Arms of their Women which they used not so much to beat and cool the air, as to defend them from the heat of the Sun, lest it should melt the paint upon their faces? The *Tartars* were not prohibited to use Fans; but though the heat was so excessive, that it almost stifled them, none of them could be perswaded to make use of a Fan.

For three or four years after the Conquest of *China*, the *Tartars* refused to marry any *Chinese's* Women, great numbers then followed them out of *Tartary*. It is not known what induced them to take this resolution, unless it was that they desired that *China* should be peopled with inhabitants, who were real *Tartars*, both by blood and birth. But this was difficult to accomplish in so vast a Country, so well inhabited and peopled as *China* was. And it was not probable, that the aversion, which these two Nations had to make any alliance between each

each other, ſhould laſt long. The contrary of which quickly appeared; for this animoſitie calmed every day more and more, and they contracted Marriages and Alliances with each other: and this union of blood and alliance, within a few years, will make them become one people and nation.

Amongſt the Divertiſements to which the *Tartars* are inclin'd, they ſeem to affect Muſick, but theirs is not very charming; they are only delighted with a warlike and loud tune; all ſoft Aires are ſo diſpleaſing to them, that they count them not only vain, but intollerable. And this makes them think no Muſick more pleaſant than the harſh ſound of their Trumpet: And generally no Harmony is more agreeable to the ears of Souldiers, than the ſound of Trumpets and Drums, with which Muſick they are moſt delighted.

I have already remarked, that theſe people do eat and drink heartily; and it is a uſual ſaying with them, that they

they who will work well must eat and drink well. But they are not very nice and curious what their meat is; reguarding more the quantity than the quality. They account young Horse-flesh their greatest dainty, which they serve up at all their Feasts. But their ordinary food is Mutton, and they have great flocks of Sheep: They eat likewise all sorts of Venison; as the flesh of Staggs, wild Boars, and of such other Creatures, which they hunt and take in the mountains; and sometimes Fish, when the fancy takes them to go a fishing, but they regard not whether their meat is fat or lean; which they roast or boil, and that but a very little; for according to the custome of *Barbarians*, they eat their meat very raw. They are not curious to have variety of Dishes, contenting themselves with one Dish, if they have enough. They like best solid substantial meat, and for that which is not so, they are very well content to be without it. Whilst they keep out in the field, they do usually live upon Rice, finding

finding that leſs troubleſome to carry along with them, than any other kind of proviſion. But if they are fixed in any place, then they make Wheaten Bread, and prefer that to eat with their meat, before Rice. When they drink Water, they drink it cold, as we do, and not hot, as the *Chineſes* and *Japanners* do. As for * *Cha*, which is the Drink, that in ceremony they preſent to all perſons throughout the whole Country, they drink that hot, according to the cuſtome of all other people. And ſo likewiſe they do *Cho-*

* Cha *is a Plant growing in* Japan *and* China, *the Leaves of which the* Japanners *grind to Powder, and drink it infuſed in warm Water. But the* Chineſes *infuſe the whole Leaves, in the ſame manner as they do* Theè. *And the reſemblance of the Leaves of theſe two Plants to each other, when they are expanded in warm water, makes me queſtion, whether* Cha *is not the tops of* Theè, *or elſe ſome ſpecies thereof. Though* Gaſpar Bauhinus *places it amongſt the Fennels; for which he is reproved by the moſt learned Botaniſt* Dr. Morriſon.

colat

colat, though they have some kind of *Chocolat*, which is drunk cold. But that which they drink with most delight, is Wine, either white or red, or of any sort whatsoever. They will scarce believe that *Mahomet* did so severely prohibit Wine, but if that Impostor did, they are apt to think, that he delighted so much in it himself, that out of envy he denyed all others the liberty of drinking it. And perhaps Wine hath been a preservative to them against those damnable pestilent opinions, with which all their Neighbours are infected. And peradventure upon the same account they chose that Religion which obliges them to adore the Heaven as a God; for though they see that water falls from heaven, yet from thence they have no prohibition to drink Wine, and therefore they think they have reason not to make it a principle of their Religion, to drink only water.

But though the *Tartars* drink Wines, yet we do not see, that either rich

rich or poor fall into those Excesses by drinking, as they do in other Countries; which are so great, that from thence some have taken occasion to say, That unless *Mahomet* had prohibited the drinking of Wine, the whole World had been intoxicated with it: Yet at their Meals they invite their Friends to drink Healths, almost in the same manner as they do in *Europe*: I say almost, because they do not expect any man should prejudice his health with pledging; or, according to the *French* Phrase, *doing reason to the health of another*: For this, they say, is to undo reason, not to do reason. Therefore they laugh at us in *Europe*, when they hear say, that a man is not counted good company, unless he pledges all the Healths are drunk to him. They ask, if in *Europe* it be thought Treason, or a crime against the State, to refuse to pledge a Health. *For* (say the *Tartars*) *if as amongst us, it be only esteemed of, as a less compliancy; then it is far more convenient, to appear not so compliant, than for any man to make himself a Beast, by drowning*

drowning his reason and judgment. We prise (say they) *far more the enjoyment of our health, our senses and reason, than all the compliancy imaginable.* Thus they do not then esteem a man to be less civil, or no good companion, if he excuses himself from drinking, when he is afraid of prejudicing his Health thereby. But what would these *Barbarians* say, if besides the Law of Nature and the rule of Reason, in the sole observance, to which they are so averse to drunkenness, they had the Law of God, and the Gospel of Christ, which upon so severe penalties prohibit all excess? And yet Christians are more intemperate than Infidels and Barbarians.

Having given you an account what Meat the *Tartars* eat, I shall now acquaint you how they serve it up: And this is either in Dishes of Silver, Tin, Brass, or such like Metal, according to each mans state and condition. They make little use of earthen Ware, though in *China* they have so fine, so cheap and common. They only make use

uſe of little plates and cups, high and narrow, the beſt and fineſt they can procure, to drink *Cha* in. But though their cups and diſhes are of ſuch different metal, they are all of the ſame form and faſhion, which coſts not much, being not very curiouſly wrought, but very ſtrong, as if they deſigned they ſhould laſt forever. The *Tartars* are like the men in ancient times, according to the notion we have of them, as plain, blunt perſons, averſe to all Luxury and Pride, which ſo impoveriſhes the World, it not being poſſible to ſupply the expences of ſuch perſons; whereas the *Tartars* are rich, and content at an eaſier and cheaper rate. It is likewiſe remarked, that all the cups the *Tartars* uſe, ſtand upon feet like our old faſhion cups and bowls: And perhaps it is not now thought fit that our cups ſhould have any feet, becauſe they have made ſo many men, by drunkenneſs and exceſs, loſe theirs.

They make uſe likewiſe of Spoons to eat with, for they know not how to

serve themselves with those eating-sticks the *Chineses* use. The *Tartars* must be born again before they can be brought to the neatness of the *Chineses*, which requires a long application to it, before they can conveniently practise it.

The *Tartars* generally are indifferently well inclined to trade and commerce, and are very reasonable and fair dealing persons. Their usual way of trade, is by bartering one commodity for another; as Corn, Wooll, Cattel, and other Merchandise, which are common there, for others that are of higher value; which make *China* the wealthiest Country in the World. They seem not very covetous of Silver or mony; and are ignorant of those subtilties which are usually practised by Trades-men, who are guided and governed by Avarice, and desire of gain. They would willingly have commerce with all Nations, and wish they would come thither to traffick and trade: and are not much concerned if any forraigners come to dwell in

in their Towns; nay they ſuffer them to wear Arms, having a good opinion of their own ſtrength and courage, they laugh at thoſe panick fears with which the *Chineſes* and *Japanners* are ſo poſſeſſed. On the contrary, they declare, that whoſoever will come into their Country, ſhall not be treated like ſtrangers, if ſo be they will live quietly and orderly: but if they offer to make any diſturbance, then they muſt expect, either to be driven out, or puniſhed according to their deſerts. Thus they propoſe to deal with Strangers, by which it clearly appears, they act herein more judiciouſly and rationally, than the *Japanners*, who were frighted with their own dreams and imaginations.

The Beaſts which they make uſe of for Tillage, or for their other occaſions, either in time of Peace or War, are, as in *Europe*, either Horſes, or ſuch like Beaſts, ordinarily employed for Carriage; which are very numerous throughout the whole Country.

As for Voyages by Sea and Navigation, it is observed, that the *Tartars* which Conquered *China* are naturally averse to the Sea; perhaps it is because that part of *Tartary* in which they inhabited, is remote from the Sea: Nor is it strange, that any one should at the first dislike that which they have no experience of. Yet we saw that in the Province of *Canton*, they quickly became very good Mariners, and fought very well at Sea. Men of Courage will master any thing: And no habit or custom can resist them, who resolve to accustom themselves to any thing, though never so difficult and strange to them at first.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Habit and Fashions of the Tartars. *Of the Modesty and Virtue of their Women, who though they affect to ride on horse-back, and go to the Wars, yet are very chast and virtuous. The Conclusion of this Narrative of the Conquest of* China *by the* Tartars.

ALl the *Tartars*, except the meanest and poorest of them, are clothed in Silk; which now they can do more conveniently, being masters of a Country where Silk grows: the others wear Stuff, either Woollen or Cotten, or else Linnen. The Fashion of their Clothes is in part peculiar to that Nation, in part much resembling that of the *Eastern Mahometans*. They like better to follow the fashion of their Clothes, than to observe their

Law by drinking no Wine. And now you shall see, how they are clothed from head to foot.

They wear little boots, or buskins, which never come so high as the knee, and usually but to the calf of the leg, sometimes their Buskins have no soles, and then they wear shooes with them, but sometimes they have soles just like a little boot, and then they wear no shooes.

Their Shirts are very short, which they begirt about their waste with Drawers. These Shirts are usually made of flaxen or cotten cloth: But they who are the most neat and gallant in their Clothes, though they are not of any high quality, have them of a certain sort of Silken stuff, almost like Satten, or else of strong Taffaty, but always very white.

Over this Shirt they wear a Vest, which comes a little below the knee, made very tite and straight to the body, but lined with *Wat, or Cotton,

*Wat *is the Down which covers the seeds of the* Apocynum Syriacum, *called in* English *Silk-grass.*

from

from top to bottom. The Sleeves are very ſtrait and narrow, but ſo long as to come over their hands; they are ſlit up as far as the wriſt, and they turn them up, to make their hands appear the more graceful. Theſe Sleeves are uſually embroydered from the elbow to the ſhoulder, but from the elbow downwards plain. This Garment is buttoned down the ſides to the waſte, and from the top to the bottom. The buttons are ordinary of Plate, either Silver or Gold, or ſome other metal; and ſometimes of Precious ſtones, of greater or leſs value, according to the pleaſure or capacity of the owner, not according to his quality; for there, as in other Countries, they who are rich take upon them to be perſons of quality. Theſe Buttons are not put on ſtrait down before, but ſide-ways: for they fold the left ſide of this Veſt over the right, and along the edges of the fold the buttons are faſtened in an oblique line, to keep it more ſtreight and fit to their body as far as the waſte;

which appears gracefully enough upon them. Some have buttons fastened upon their right shoulder, and along their collar. But this is a fashion not much followed.

They tye this Vest about them with a girdle, of which they have several fashions, and usually these are more gallant and brave than any part of their habit; yet some have only a Silken cord about the thickness of a finger, which they put several times about them. Others have a piece of Taffaty, or very fine Cotton Cloth, about four fingers broad, and adorned with Gold, Silver, Ivory, or Precious stones: And those who would appear more Souldier-like, have a piece of a Beast's skin, which they bedeck with Ornaments suitable to their genius and fancy.

Over this habit, which comes down very low, they wear a shorter Coat, but much wider and larger. These two habits are ever of different colours, but the uppermost coat being most visible, is ever of the most gaudy and lively

lively colour: and being wider than the other they let it go unbuttoned and looſe, though it is garniſhed with rich buttons like the other, but theſe ſerve only for ornament; and at the moſt, they button not above one or two. It hath no Sleeves, or elſe ſo ſhort they come not below the elbow. This, like the other Coat, is lined with *Wat* or Cotton. Theſe are their habits in Winter, but their cuſtome is to wear as many Clothes in Summer, as in Winter; but probably having changed their climat, they will be neceſſitated to change this cuſtom. *Tartary* lying more to the North than *China*, and conſequently being rather a cold, than a hot Country, the inhabitants might well endure there to wear all the year long clothes, more ſuitable in *China* for the Winter than Summer ſeaſon. But it is probable, when they ſhall have more experienced the temperate climat of that Country, and the heats in the Southern Provinces, they will proportionably wear cooler Clothes, and lay aſide their preſent

fashion

fashion of lining them with *Cotton* or *Wat*. Some persons have disliked the shape of their loose Coats, which they wear uppermost, because they have no neck-piece, or collar, and are neither raised higher, or cut away in the neck; but are seamed in the same manner at top, as at the bottom; so that they are shaped something like those frocks which, in some Countries, criminal persons wear, when they go to execution. But the *Tartars* will not yield, that their habit is at all ungraceful, perhaps it is because they are accustomed to it. And we see, that those faces which at first do in a manner affright us, do not appear deformed, when we have for some time been conversant and acquainted with them.

And it is less to be wonder'd at, that we should approve of those fashions and habits, when we are accustomed to them, which first seemed fantastical and ridiculous to us.

I have now shewn you the Habits of the *Tartars* from the feet to the neck and shoulders; but it yet remains, that

that I ſhould let you ſee what they wear upon their heads, which is more extravagant than any part of their habit. And though the relation enlarges much upon it; yet perhaps it would be better to ſay nothing at all of it, than to conclude the relation with ſo diſpleaſing a Subject. But leſt any ſhould complain, that their curioſity herein is not ſatisfied, I ſhall give ſome account of it. And if any perſons deride and ſcoff at the Bonnets, or Hats, which the *Tartars* wear, let them conſider, that a great part of the world laugh at them, for the faſhion of their Clothes; and how often their own Nation have changed, and altered their faſhion, and imitated, at laſt, thoſe faſhions of another Country, which, at firſt, they themſelves thought very ridiculous and fantaſtical. And therefore that perhaps, at ſome time or other, they may likewiſe come to take up that for a faſhion, which now they moſt of all diſlike in the Bonnet of the *Tartars*.

I ſhall now firſt obſerve to you, that

that these people have a different covering for their Head in Winter, from what they have in Summer. And though they are not all very exact in this change, yet the greatest part of them seldom fail. In Winter they wear a certain round Bonnet, very high crowned, which stands out, as if it was of a very solid substance, and yet it is only made of a certain Silk Stuff, or else of very fine Cloth, lined within with the same, and quilted with *Wat* or *Cotton*, as their Vests and loose Coats are: This Bonnet comes very close to the Head, but it is surrounded with a border so thick, that it appears bigger than any part of their Body: All this border is covered over with tufts of Silk, which are usually of light colours, according to the fancy of the owner. In the crown they are much about the bigness of the Priests Caps in *Spain*: And those which the *Tartars* wear are covered all over, excepting only a little round place before about the breadth of a Crown piece: this is left uncovered, that they may put

in

in a plate of ſome kind of Metal, with a button in the midſt, either of Gold or Silver. The *Mandorins* and other perſons of quality, which are in any place or employment, are diſtinguiſhed by theſe Plates, which they ever wear, either of Gold or Silver, with ſome Jewel ſet in the midſt. And it doth not depend, either upon any mans fancy or wealth, to take what kind of Plate he pleaſes; but the bigneſs, colour, form, and faſhion of the Plate, Button, or Jewel, muſt of neceſſity diſtinguiſh and mark out the rank and quality of him who wears it. By this mark of honour they avoid all occaſions of diſputes, which often ariſe in other Countries, for the rank and precedency of Magiſtrates and publick Officers. For it would be high treaſon there, for any one to dare to wear the mark of a dignity, which he cannot juſtifie to belong to him. In any other part of their Clothing, either in Winter or in ſummer, there is no diſtinction between perſons of the higheſt quality, and the very dregs of

of the common people, betwen the most learned and the most ignorant. Their Caps, or Bonnets are all generally of the same form and shape; only they, who are most rich or most curious, make choice of the finest Stuff. As for any thing else, the meanest tradesman will have upon his head a Bonnet tufted all over, as well as a person of the highest quality. Therefore, in that Country, to distinguish persons according to their rank and degree, you must look, and that very narrowly, upon the mark of distinction which they wear: For being every person wears the Plates with a Button in the midst, and that all the Magistrates have them of Gold or Silver with a Jewel, it is not easie to make a distinction afar off.

As soon as Summer comes, the *Tartars* lay aside these Bonnets, and then they wear Hats, not made of Wooll wrought close together, as ours are, but either of the Leaves of the *Palme* or *Date* Tree, or of some very rare and curious Plant growing there. The form and fashion of this Hat is more

fantaſtical than their Bonnet. The brim is very broad and large, and the crown very little, but that it is adorned, and ſet out with tufts of Silk. This likewiſe before hath a place for the Medal, or mark of diſtinction, as their winter Bonnet hath. Some wear theſe Hats of a pointed ſhape, others quite flat, and theſe have no tufts, which makes them appear the flatter. To the lining of the crown of this Hat are faſtened ſeveral Silken ſtrings, two of which hang down lower than the reſt, to faſten it with, on their head, which they do by tying them to a button under their chin, in ſuch a manner as they can ſlacken or ſtreighten them at pleaſure. But to return to the deſcription of the brims of theſe Hats; which look like a broad ill ſhapen diſh. They are lined on the inſide, and hang flapping down, in the ſame manner as you may have ſeen a broad piece of Lead hang down at the end of a large gutter, to carry off the rain from houſes. And as for the tufts of Silk, in rainy weather, they are flatted

flatted down upon the Hat-brims, so that they reach within two or three fingers breadth of the very edge, which is bordered about with a very ill-favoured embroidery.

You must likewise know, that the tufts on the Hats of ordinary persons, and poor people, are of Silk; but the rich, and those who are most curious, make them of a certain yellow or gold coloured herb, the flowers of which do much resemble, those of the *Mais*, or *Indian* Wheat. The stalk of this Plant is about the thickness of a finger, and is long and plyable enough, to be wound several times about their Hats. And being it produces great number of Flowers and quantity of seed; it's so full of tufts, that several persons pull them off divers of them. The convenience of this Plant for Hat-bands is this, that it doth not soak in the water, as the Silk doth, and when it is wet it loses nothing of its lustre; but, on the contrary, appears more beautiful and lively, and glittering as if it were enamelled. And therefore this Plant is highly

ly esteemed of in the very place where it grows; for a Hat with a band thereof is not sold under two* *Ducats*, which is a very high price, according to the rate that things are sold for in *China*. Where for the same price a man may buy as much Velvet or Damask, as will make make him a Suit of Clothes. They therefore who cannot go to the price of this Plant, make use instead thereof of Silken tufts of the same colour: So that in that Country, they are counted poor when they are reduced to wear Silk. But Herbs and their stalks are esteemed of, as a very brave ornament for the most rich and honourable persons. See how great mens vanity is, when they are proud of a little chaff and straw.

At present all the *Chinoises* conform to the modes and fashions of the *Tartars*. To which they have been compelled by very rigorous and severe Ordinances, which condemned every man to

* *A* Ducat *is worth about six shillings eight pence sterling.*

death, who did not obey and observe them; but the Women were treated with more civility. Nothing could be more opposite than this new *Tartarian-mode*, to the fashion of the habits of the *Chineses*, which for a long time they had kept to without the least alteration. And therefore the more satisfied they were with the fashion of their Cloths, and their custome to wear their Hair long, so much the more discontent they were to part with either; which some so highly valued, that they chose rather to be stripped of their lives, than to be clothed after the *Tartarian* mode. But the Women found more civility from the Conquerors, than their Husbands did. Neither doth it appear, that they ever failed to shew all respect to that Sex, in any place, except it was in the Province of *Canton*. Where the violent outrages of the Vice Roy in Military affairs, did transport him beyond all bounds of honour or humanity: but we are not to presume, from the hard usage which the *Chineses* Women received in

that

that Province, that they were treated with no greater favour in the others: In which the Souldiers were kept in better discipline, under the command of Officers, who by their actions endeavoured to make a more advantageous impression in the minds of the people, both as to the merits of their own persons, and the honour of their Nation. Yet notwithstanding the great care they took to make their orders be punctually observed, they could not possibly prevent the great violences, which were committed in Towns taken by storm. It is scarce to be expected it should be otherwise in War: for we see that these outrages are not less frequently committed in *Europe*, even by Christian Souldiers, the Commanders in chief not being able to remedy all disorders: Yet it is certain, that all the Provinces in *China*, except that of *Canton*, the *Tartars* demeaned themselves towards the Women with all the honour and respect the *Chineses* could wish for. The Emperour particularly, the Princes his Uncles, and

the other Grandees of *Tartary*, by the ſevere puniſhments they inflicted upon all perſons convicted of any diſorders of that nature, manifeſted how averſe they were from allowing or countenancing them.

Seeing the *Tartars* treated the *Chineſes* Women thus obligingly, it is not to be imagined, they would by force and violence compell them to change the faſhion of their Clothes. And the truth is, they made no order or injunction herein, but left them free liberty to follow their own inclinations, to chuſe whether they would be in the *Tartarian* mode, or keep to their old faſhion. And in every thing elſe the Officers in the *Tartarian* Army, and the *Mandorins* ſhewed all the obſervancy and reſpect to that ſex, as is uſually done in *Europe*, which was not heretofore practiſed in *China*; where, when any man ſpoke to a Woman, he would never have vouchſafed her the title of *Madam*; though by her quality and condition ſhe had been far ſuperiour to him, and though at every word

word, she spoke to him, she had treated him with Sir, and my Lord.

We must now give some account of the Habit of the *Tartarian* Women, though herein we have not been so particularly informed. They wear Hats as the Men do, but they are not so finely adorned; for many of the Women count it gallantry to go negligently. Sometimes it is a great piece of artifice, to have no artifice: For most things are the more handsome, by how much the more natural. And Nature hath very just reason to complain, that those very women whom she hath endowed with excellent Beauty, have notwithstanding, many times, recourse to Art, and seems to acknowledg, that it is from it they have received all that is either graceful or agreeable in them. But the *Tartarian* Women use not these arts; they wear their Hair long, as in *Europe*, and let it hang curling in a negligent manner upon their shoulders, not tying it with any string, but that which fastens on their Hat. And their Habit is either a certain *Vest*, or *Simar*,

pretty long, without any collar; or else one somewhat less, like a short wastcoat, very little different from those which the *Chineſe* women use; these Vests are of several colours, but ever very gay and lively, usually they are of Silk, unless it be those of the meaneſt and poorest persons: as for the shape of them, they are made exactly fit to the body, have but little compass, and are not trimmed with those modish vanities, as are invented in *Europe*. They likewise wear buskins, and sometimes boots and spurs, when either they ride for their recreation, or go a journey; their horses are their living * *Chopino's*, which they manage so gracefully, as no dress sets them off so advantageously. Their Bows and Arrows are their Rings and Jewels; and the places where they meet to discourse in, and receive company, is the open field, where they run and skip

* Chopino's *are high Cloggs, which the Women use in* Spain, *to make them appear tall.*

about

about like so many of the ancient *Tyrrhian* Nymphs, or the *Amazonian Scythians*, their Neighbours: At which the *Chineſe* women, who had been immured up in priſons, and caves all their lives, were so highly surpriſed, that it is not to be expreſſed; for they were so amazed at it, that they knew not whether they ſhould believe them to be men or women, and could never ceaſe to admire them, though they were as much afraid of them, as of the men. Yet for all this, we muſt not ſuppoſe, that ſhooting and riding is the ſole employment of the *Tartarian* women. But they only uſe theſe exerciſes, to ſhew, what by their valour and courage they are able to do, if occaſion requires it. And the truth is, they accompany their husbands in the Wars, and many times charge with them into the very midſt of the enemies battalion. But nothing is more admirable in theſe women, than their dexterity in governing and managing their horſes, which they do ſo skilfully, it is beyond all expreſſion: and

there is none, but understand how to to ride and manage a Horse better than most men in other Countries. It is not there as in *Spain*, where only Gentlemen and Persons of Quality ride on Horse-back. All the *Tartarian* women, poor or rich, do it daily. Their Horses serve them instead of Coaches and Sedans: And they have each of them their Horses in particular, which they train up and manage, so that it would be as great a disparagement to a Woman in *Tartary* not to know how to ride on Horse-back, as in *Spain* not to know how to go upon *Chopino's*.

Doubtless whatever transcends its due bounds and measure, is deservedly blameable. And as we cannot excuse men, who in effeminacy, and a sollitous care to trick and trim up themselves, exceed even women: So neither can we approve, that women should surpass men in those Exercises which are more proper for the masculine than feminine Sex. But usage and custome may render those things excusable, which in themselves are

neither

neither contrary to religon or honesty: Or, at least, from the custom and use which is made of them, we are to pass judgment whether the practise of them is to be tollerated or condemned. And as for those actions and customs of several people and nations, which have regard only to an outward decency and decorum, which serves only to make them be esteemed of by others, either more or less civilised or polite, these, I say, depend very much upon opinion. As for modes and fashions, every man passes his censure upon them according to his own vanity and capriciousness. Some applaud and approve of that, which others dislike and vilifie: Some things are thought very decent and graceful in the opinion and fancy of some persons, and yet to hear others speak of them nothing is more ungraceful, or ridiculous. Thus men scoff at and deride one another, and yet at the same time each man thinks he hath reason on his side. But it is certain, that though all men are not rational at all times, yet the *Tartars* have

reason

reason to love their own Country women the better, since they so sympathise with them in their Martial genius, and apply themselves to those exercises, which suit and agree so well with their inclinations. The women there do both spring from, and are made of a warlike blood and spirit, and from their very cradles they both recreate themselves by the practise of those qualities with which nature hath endued them, and in which they have made themselves by habit, and custom, so expert; and likewise hereby they render themselves agreeable to the men: And therefore, either they are not very blameable to follow those exercises which are not so usual for women in other Countries; or if herein they commit a fault, it ought to be esteemed a very pardonable one.

This is all the information I have received concerning those *Tartars*, which have conquered so vast and rich an Empire. After I had given you account of their Military power, I thought my self obliged, to add something concerning

their

their customs and management of civil affairs: for seeing they now govern, give Laws, and introduce what customs they please, throughout all that spatious Country, we may from thence take some measure of the present state of *China*, under its new masters. But that which yet remains the most deplorable, is, that such an infinite number of people, both the conquered and the conquerors should still remain under the tyranny of Infidelity and Impiety. There hath been some hope that the *Tartars*, who have not yet shewn themselves so rebellious to the Gospel of *Christ* as the *Chineses* were, might give freer entrance and a better reception than they did, to those to whom it should please God to inspire, to go and reveal the glad tidings thereof to them. But as yet these are only the desires and wishes of those, who dayly pray to *God*, *that his Kingdom may come*; we must therefore all incessantly offer up our prayers and supplications to him, that he would shower down his Graces and Benedictions upon the hearts

of those Christian Princes, who have had, or shall have, any part in that great work. It hath been the glory of the Kings of *Spain*, to have sent over, and maintained several Labourers to work in that vast harvest: And this great and glorious attempt hath deservedly gained them the title of Apostolick Princes, from one of the Soveraign high Priests of the Roman-Catholick Church, *Gregory* XIV.

FINIS.

The Bookſellers Advertiſement.

LEſt the Faults which have eſcaped the Preſs might be imputed to the perſon of Honour, who gave himſelf the trouble of rendring the foregoing Hiſtory into Engliſh ; *I thought my ſelf, in gratitude, oblig'd to acquaint the Buyer, that the worthy Author's more weighty occaſions would not allow him the leiſure to reviſe or correct any part thereof ; and therefore, if ſome words have been miſtaken, or omitted, I hope they are not ſo numerous, but they may procure pardon from the Candid Reader.*

M. P.

These Books are to be sold by Moses Pitt, *at the* White Hart *in* Little Britain.

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